





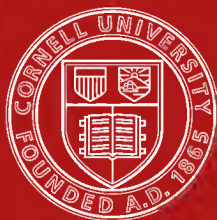
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THE  
PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN  
DIALECT

BY

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BALTIMORE:  
PRESS OF ISAAC FRIEDENWALD,  
1889.

61





TO  
PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH ZARNCKE,  
AS A TRIBUTE  
OF  
GRATITUDE AND ESTEEM.



## PREFACE.

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This study of the Pennsylvania German dialect dates from the year 1884, and is, so far as the author is aware, the first attempt to offer an exhaustive scientific treatment of any American-German dialect. Its only predecessor, Haldeman's *Pennsylvania Dutch* (Phila. 1872), was of a more general and descriptive character.

After having collected the most valuable printed matter in the dialect, the author made repeated tours into various portions of eastern Pennsylvania, in order to study the peculiarities of the spoken dialect. In the year 1885 he went to the Rhenish Palatinate (Rheinpfalz) and acquainted himself with the speech of the old home of the Palatines (Pfälzer). Thus a point of view was gained from which comparisons could be made.

As a pioneer attempt the work had to contend with many difficulties, the most serious of which was the fixing of a consistent phonetic orthography. When such was finally adopted, it could not be consistently carried out for lack of suitable type. Hence it was necessary to substitute *v* for the voiced spirant *b* with a stroke; *y* for the intervocalic palatal *g*.

The general plan of the work includes two parts. Part I (consisting of articles reprinted from the Am. Jour. Phil., Vol. IX, 1-4 and X, 3) contains chapters on *Ethnography*, *Phonology*, *Inflection*, *Syntax*, *English Mixture*. Part II will treat of *German Mixture* and *Etymology*.

The material here presented has been carefully sifted. The examples are quoted from original sources. The critical portions of the work have passed under the eye of one "to the manor born."

In this connection the author gratefully acknowledges the valuable assistance of Mr. E. H. Rauch (ed. Carbon Co. Democrat), Mr. Zimmerman (ed. of Reading Times), Dr. Egle (State Librarian, Harrisburg, Pa.), Mr. Stone (Librarian of P. H. S., Phila., Pa.), Prof. Jacobsen (Bethlehem, Pa.), Rev. Eli Keller (Emaus, Pa.), Professors Dubbs and Stahr (Lancaster, Pa.), Miss Rachel Bahn (Hellam, Pa.).

The author extends especial thanks to Hon. H. L. Fisher (York, Pa.) and Rev. H. R. Horne, D. D. (Allentown, Pa.), for their hearty co-operation in so many ways.

The bibliography is given pp. 21, 89-94, and in foot-notes pp. 1-20. An index will accompany Part II. For additions and corrections cf. p. 8.

THE AUTHOR.

BALTIMORE, *Nov.* 25, 1889.

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## CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

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Read as follows : p. 13, n. 1, *Scotch-Irish* not *Scotch-Iris*; p. 17, 1,039,854 not 1,139,854; p. 18, *Middle Frankish* not *Rhine Frankish* (cf. Am. Jour. Phil. IX 4, p. 517), *Rhine Frankish* not *South Frankish*; p. 19, *Low German* not *Dutch*, and below, *Dutch* not *Low German*; p. 22, *dialects* not *dialect*; p. 23, æ not æ; p. 25, *hys* not *hysə*; p. 26, Grimm, Gr. I 522 not 443; add *exc. Vien. schāme* after "From all these examples"; p. 29, 5, N. E. ā not a; p. 30, lēb and lēvə; p. 34, brōtə not brotə; p. 36, aerəvət not aerəvət; p. 37, waergə not waerg; p. 38, transfer *burgəment* to note 1; p. 41, R. P. not R. Pf., and *palatalization* not *phenomenon*; p. 42, R. P. not R. Pf.; p. 44, wō not wā, num(n)ə not numə, omit note 1; p. 45, comma between R. P. and *Westr.*; p. 49, other *foreign* words; p. 50, note 1, P. G. before *tvkt*, etc., and *magaps* not *māgaps*; p. 51, 3, add t; p. 53, dzh not dzch; p. 54, omit "in flexional elements"; p. 57, fətər not fətvər; p. 58, də or d', d. pl.; p. 60, §58, u. 2, forms in 'n (Rauch) without n (Horne); p. 67, zīyə not zījə; p. 70, dūə throughout the plural (Horne); p. 71, gēə, schtēə and wollə in plural (Horne), *senscht* or *sichscht* (Horne); p. 73, (Horne) not (H.), *wirbält* and *ovətlid*; p. 74, (Horne) not (H.); p. 75, wō not wo, *unsər* not *unser*; pp. 76 and 77, (Horne) not (H.); p. 78, ebbəs not *ebbes*; p. 80, ] after *possentreiben*; p. 82, (Horne) not (H.); p. 83, *unschtvtt* not *auschvtvt*; p. 84, omit after *kund*; for N. H. G. construction with *an* cf. Goethe's *Herm. u. Dor.* II 217; *fər kaesch* two words, N. E. *gallery*, N. H. G. *emporkirche*; p. 86, *reich* not *neich*; p. 91, fvrə not *fvrə*; p. 95, and *bellə* (vb.); p. 98, *vulg. licorish*; p. 100, *schpeiz* not *schpeə*; p. 102, *maerbəlschtē* not *aerbəlschtē*, and *blōbaeryərtē* not *lōbaeryərtē*; p. 104, *bryfə* not *brvə*; p. 107, *ebvut* = also *just, well.* ē in words < N. E. = N. H. G. ē. ə final represents a sound approaching e, and hence is written by Horne and Hoffman as ä or ä (English pronunciation).

## ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS.

An. = Anmerkung.

Hunz. Aarg. Wbch. = Hunziger Argauer Wörterbuch.

Keller Kal. = Keller in the Allentown *Kallenner* for 1885.

M. E. = Middle English.

O. M. F. = Old Middle Frankish.

s. = seite (page).

Skeat = Skeat's Etymological Dictionary.

Tr. Cap. = Trier Capitulary.

Hoffman = Hoffman in *Journal of American Folk-Lore* (Vol. I, No. 2; Vol. II, Nos. 4 and 6).

# THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN DIALECT.<sup>1</sup>

## ETHNOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

The object of the present chapter is to trace the history of the early German settlers of Pennsylvania from their old homes in the Fatherland to their settlements in the province of William Penn. By thus ascertaining their ethnic origin it will be possible to determine the speech-elements brought by them to Pennsylvania soil and developed into the unique dialect termed "Pennsylvania German" or "Pennsylvania Dutch" (called by those who speak it, "Pennsylvänisch Deutsch").

While the theme is of peculiar interest to the linguist, it has for the student of American institutions also an importance too often overlooked by our historians. Here two great branches of a powerful ethnic stem unite to develop under new conditions a new social and political organism. It is hence great historical injustice to include all the early settlements of Pennsylvania under the occupation and development of that province by Quakers (or Friends). It has been those of German blood, men like Rupp, Seidensticker, Egle, and others of local importance, who have called attention to the real significance of this German element in the colonization of America.<sup>2</sup> True, our liberty-loving poet has caught the plaintive note of the pioneer's song and woven it into the touching "Lay of the Pennsylvania Pilgrim," Franz Daniel Pastorius leaving the scenes of literary activity and the "überdrüssig gekosteten europäischen Eitelkeiten" to find religious freedom and political quiet beyond the sea, in a humble cottage, over whose portal he set the Latin motto:

"Parva domus sed amica Bonis: procul este Profani."

Klein ist mein Haus, doch Gute sieht es gern;

Wer gottlos ist, der bleibe fern.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This paper forms the first chapter of a more elaborate philological treatise on the Pennsylvania German dialect.

<sup>2</sup> Of America, because from Pennsylvania a constant stream of migration has pushed its way into all parts of the West. Cf. Rauch's *Handbuch*, Preface, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Seidensticker, *Bilder aus der Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte*, S. 39.



There is perhaps no State in the Union affording so many curious phenomena of social history as the Keystone State. Here are found living illustrations of nearly every step of our national development—the statesman, scholar, poet—worthy representatives of modern culture—and hard by, the crude, honest, industrious Palatine (Pfälzer) or Swiss, wearing the garb of the seventeenth century, observing the customs of his ancestors in their modest hamlets along the Rhine, contentedly indifferent to the march of literature, art or science. Here, too, is found the most varied commingling of nationalities—Dutch, Swedes, English, Scotch, Irish, Norwegians, Danes,<sup>1</sup> French, Germans, not to speak of the promiscuous influx of Hungarians, Italians and what not, in the last few decenniums of the present century.

It is in the midst of such varied ethnic forces that we are to seek the causes which have contributed to the formation of this important speech-island in the domain of German dialects. The subject proper will be discussed under two periods—the first, that of colonization<sup>2</sup> (1682-1753); the second, that of migration and frontier settlement (1753-1848). To give completeness to the treatment, it will not be amiss to review briefly early German colonization in other provinces of America. In the year 1705 a number of German Reformed left their homes between Wolfenbüttel and Halberstadt, went first to Neuwied in Rhenish Prussia, and thence to Holland, whence (1707) they sailed for New York, intending to join the Dutch settlements in that province; but, driven by storm into the Delaware Bay, they started for New York by a land route through Nova Caesaria (N. J.). On reaching the regions watered by the Musconetcong, the Passaic and their tributaries, they halted and settled what is now known as German Valley of Morrison County, N. J. Many of their descendants are still to be found in Somerset, Bergen, and Essex counties. There were German settlements at Elizabethtown before 1730, and about the same time at Hall Mill.

Of the 33,000 who at the invitation of Queen Anne left the Rhine country for London in the years 1708-9, 12,000 to 13,000

<sup>1</sup> In 1853 Ole Bull attempted to settle a colony of Norwegians and Danes in Abbott Township, Potter County. Some of these colonists still remain in the county.

<sup>2</sup> The early settlements of the Dutch on the Delaware, of the Swedes in the southeastern corner of the province, of the French pioneers in the western portion of the State, do not directly concern us here.

arrived in London 1708. In the fall of 1709 one hundred and fifty families, consisting of six hundred Palatines, were sent under the direction of Christian de Graffenried and Ludwig Michel, natives of Switzerland, to North Carolina. Tobler and Zuberbühler of St. Gall, Switzerland, settled with a large number of their countrymen in Granvill County, N. C., in the first third of the 18th century. Many Germans went from Virginia and Pennsylvania to the mountainous regions of North Carolina. Lincoln, Stoke, and Granvill counties were settled by Germans. Those in North Carolina from Pennsylvania alone numbered in 1785 over 1500 souls.<sup>1</sup>

Another company of Palatine Lutherans left London in the year 1708 under the direction of Rev. Josua Kocherthal, arrived in New York probably in December of the same year and settled at Newberg. In June, 1710, ten vessels set sail from London with more than 4000 Germans and, after a voyage of six months, arrived in New York. It is stated that 1700 died during the passage or immediately on landing. In the autumn, about 1400 of the survivors were sent to Livingston's Manor on the Hudson. Of these, one hundred and fifty families went to Schoharie Valley in 1712, and some found a home on the frontiers of the Mohawk Valley.

Queen Anne sent some Germans to Virginia also, where they settled at Rappahannock in Spottsylvania County. They advanced later, however, up the river, and many of them crossed over into North Carolina. Shenandoah and Rockingham counties, Va., were settled before 1746 by Germans from Pennsylvania. Many of their descendants still speak the German language, or "Dutch," as Washington called it when referring to them in his surveys of their land.<sup>2</sup>

As early as 1710-1712 German emigrants came to Maryland and settled between Monocacy and the mountains, where Fredericktown was laid out in 1745. This settlement soon extended to the Glades, Middletown, and Hagerstown. In the years 1748-54 about 2800 Germans were brought to Maryland, many of whom settled in Baltimore.<sup>3</sup>

In the year 1716-17 several thousand Germans, under the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rupp, 30,000 German Names, p. 4, quoted from Löhner, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Rupp in 30,000 German Names, p. 7, from Sparks' Washington, II 418.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rupp, 30,000 German Names, p. 13, and Gayarre's Louisiana, pp. 360-1.

leadership of John Law,<sup>1</sup> embarked for Louisiana, but Law landed them on the pontines of Biloxi, near Mobile. After exposure and death had wrought their ravages, about three hundred finally settled along the Mississippi, in the present Côte d'Or, thirty or forty miles above New Orleans. Their descendants forgot their mother tongue and adopted the French language.

In the spring of 1734, some Lutherans from Salzburg in Upper Austria arrived in Georgia and settled Ebenezer in Effingham County. This colony received accessions and numbered in 1745 several hundred families. In addition to forty or fifty Moravians who had already settled in the State under the leadership of Nitchman, there were also a number of Germans in Savannah. In the year 1732 about one hundred and seventy persons were brought over by Pury of Neuchatel and began a Swiss settlement called Puryzburg, on the north bank of the Savannah, about thirty-six miles from its mouth.

In the years 1740-1755 many Palatines were sent to South Carolina and settled Orangeburg, Congaree, and Wateree. In 1765 more than six hundred Palatines and Suabians, sent over from London, settled a separate township in South Carolina.

In 1739 a settlement was made by German Lutherans and German Reformed at Waldoborough in Lincoln County, Maine.<sup>2</sup>

In 1753 George II of England induced a company consisting largely of Hanoverians to go and settle in Nova Scotia. They landed at Marliguish June 7th of the same year and laid out the town of Lunenburg, where their descendants are still to be found.

### I.—PERIOD OF COLONIZATION (1682-1753).

At the beginning of this period we are met by two groups of facts which gave rise to the great influx of Germans into Pennsylvania: (1) the unsettled political, religious and social condition of Germany; (2) the influence of William Penn's travels in that country, which, at the beginning of the 17th century a prosperous country, had been reduced by the Thirty Years War to the most wretched poverty. The peasant, whose condition before the war, though tolerable, was not without marks of the wars of

<sup>1</sup> The famous visionary banker, author of "A Discourse upon Money and Trade."

<sup>2</sup> Further survivals of their influence are Bremen in the same county, and Frankfort in Waldo County, Maine.

the early 16th century, was brought to the last extremity. He had caught the spirit of misrule from the lawless life of the soldier. Villages and towns lay in ashes; many a promising son of the soil fell a victim to the plague, and many districts were left desolate. Burgher and peasant alike groaned under the weight of religious persecution.

"Where Catholicism still had foothold, the leaders of the Protestant party were swept away—especially the parochial clergy (Seelsorger)—most thoroughly in those provinces in which the Emperor himself was sovereign. Much had been done before the long war, but still, at the beginning of the struggle, the political majority, the keenest intelligence, the greater number of the congregations in Upper Austria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia, were evangelical. At this point a thorough reformation was instituted. Burghers and peasants were driven to confession in crowds by the soldiers; whoever, often after imprisonment and torture, refused to renounce his faith, was compelled to quit the country, which many thousands did. It was deemed a favor if the fugitives were granted an insufficient respite for the disposition of their movable property."<sup>1</sup>

While southeastern Germany was suffering from the wounds of the Thirty Years War, the western provinces, especially the Upper Rhine country, were suffering under the ravages of Louis XIV. He had laid waste the cities of Alsace and taken possession of Freiburg in the Breisgau, Lorraine, Franche Comté, Vaudemont, Saarlouis, Saarbrücken, Mömpelgard, Luxemburg, and Strassburg. In 1685 he revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry IV had granted Protestants equal rights with Catholics (1598), thus driving out of France 500,000 Huguenots, many of whom sought refuge in Germany, Holland, and England. In the year 1689 the Rhine Palatinate (Rhein-Pfalz, Kur-Pfalz) was exposed to the most ruthless devastations. Terror reigned in hideous guise. If we add to these conditions the religious disturbances resulting from the pietistic movement throughout Germany, we shall find a ready explanation of the enthusiasm with which Germans hailed the hope of a peaceful home beyond the sea.

It was just prior to this culmination of woes that William Penn made his visits to Germany—the first in 1671, the second in 1677.

During his first visit Penn went to Emden, Crefeld, and various

<sup>1</sup> Freytag, Bilder III 199.

points in Westphalia. It is, however, the second of his visits which has the greatest significance. This time he went to Rotterdam, Leyden, Haarlem, and, most important of all, Amsterdam, where a general assembly of Quakers (Friends) from various parts of Europe was convened. Besides the above-named places, Penn revisited Crefeld, Emden, and Duisburg, extending his travels up the Rhineland to Krischheim, Worms, Frankfort-on-the-Maine and neighboring points. The acquaintances made during this visit led to the formation of two important land companies, the Crefeld Purchasers and the Frankfort Land Company. The Crefelders were, however, strictly speaking, private land-buyers and not an organization.

It was as plenipotentiary agent of the Frankfort Company that Franz Daniel Pastorius arrived in Philadelphia, August 20, 1683, accompanied by ten persons. Their object was to prospect for subsequent emigrants. The first actual German colonists, however, arrived in Philadelphia October 16, 1683, by the ship "Concord" (the Pennsylvania-German "Mayflower"). This company of settlers consisted of thirteen families from Crefeld and the neighborhood. "Sie waren eine Sippe so zu sagen. So weit ihr Gewerbe hat ermitteln lassen, waren es grösstentheils Leinweber, so dass Pastorius allerdings Veranlassung hatte, den Weberstuhl in das Stadtwappen von Germantown zu setzen" (Seidensticker).

Seidensticker thinks the thirty-three souls mentioned are to be understood, from the correspondence of Claypoole and Furly, as thirty-three "freights." This being the case, the actual number must have been considerably more than thirty-three persons, as children under twelve years came as "half-freight" and those under one year of age came free. The names of these persons are interesting and significant.<sup>1</sup> It was this group of colonists who, under the direction of Pastorius, began the settlement of Germantown, 1683. Seidensticker suggests that there may have been Mennonites among them, though Crefeld and Krischheim near Worms were strong Quaker points, and that the early divisions of Germantown—Krisheim, Sommerhausen, Crefeld—doubtless represented the places dear to them as homes in the Fatherland. Of the Crefeld Purchasers, who had bought in all 18,000 acres of land in Pennsylvania, Jacob Telner of Crefeld came to America in 1684, Van Bebber in 1687, Jan Streppers of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seidensticker, *Bilder*, S. 28, who cites Pastorius' "Grund- und Lagerbuch."

Kaldenkirchen in 1691. Although no statement is found that fresh colonists came at these different times, it is hardly probable that these land-purchasers came over to settle without considerable companies of their immediate acquaintances. Thus we have located the first German settlers in Penn's Province.

The next company of Germans to settle in Pennsylvania was a group of enthusiasts, called "The Awakened" ("Erweckte"), about forty in number, under the guidance of Johann Kelpius. They arrived in Philadelphia June 22d, and in Germantown on "St. Johannistag" of the year 1694. Kelpius himself was from Siebenbürgen. He, with Koster, Falckner, Biedermann and others, had rallied around Pfarrer Zimmermann, who had been removed from his pastorate in Bietigheim in Würtemberg. After a short stay in Halberstadt and Magdeburg, the company decided to emigrate to Pennsylvania. Zimmermann, however, died in Rotterdam, leaving Kelpius to direct the mystic wanderers into the new land. He accordingly settled the suspicious new-comers on the Wissahickon, a short distance from Germantown, probably near the present Hermit's Spring and Hermit's Lane. Kelpius himself was steeped in the teachings of Jacob Böhme, Dr. Petersen, and the English prophetess Jane Leade. With his little group of mystics he resolved to lead a hermit's life in the wilderness and await the second coming of Christ. Their settlement was called "Das Weib in der Wüste" (the woman in the wilderness). Besides the men above mentioned there were a number of women, but with no thought of earthly love in their life.<sup>1</sup> From the *Chronicon Ephratense*<sup>2</sup> we learn the further development of this society: "Ihre Anzahl war damals (1694) bey vierzig, hatte sich aber vermehrt, dann 1704 vereinigte sich Conrad Matthai, ein Schweizer, damit."

From 1704-1712 the first settlements in Berks County were made by English Friends, French Huguenots, and German emigrants from the Palatinate. The Germans settled near Wahlink (Oley).

Isaac Turk, or de Turck, having been compelled, like thousands of his countrymen, to quit France, fled to Frankenthal in the Palatinate, emigrated thence (1709) to America and settled near Esopus, N. Y., but removed in 1712 to Oley, Berks County,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Seidensticker, *Bilder*, S. 98: "Und so wollten denn auch die Mitglieder des 'Weibes in der Wüste' nicht freien und nicht gefreit werden."

<sup>2</sup> A chronicle kept in the cloister at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Pa.

Pa. In the same year a company of Mennonites purchased land in Pequea (in the present Lancaster County), Pennsylvania. In order to escape persecution for their religious convictions, they left their homes in the cantons Zürich, Bern, and Schaffhausen, Switzerland, in 1672, and settled in Alsace and along the Rhine above Strassburg. In 1708 they migrated to London to find protection in the realm of Queen Anne. From England they emigrated to America and settled first at Germantown. Soon a part of them removed to Pequea-Thal and formed the nucleus of the settlement at Eden. This colony received large accessions of both Swiss and Germans, especially in the years 1711 and 1717. Many distributed themselves among the various districts of the province without reporting to the provincial authorities either their names or origin.<sup>1</sup> The following from Rupp's edition of Benjamin Rush's *Essay on the Manners and Customs of the Germans of Pennsylvania* will show the general character of the Germans who went at this period to England, Ireland,<sup>2</sup> and America, especially Pennsylvania :

"From the middle of April, 1709," says Rupp in a note, "till the middle of July of the same year there arrived at London 11,294 German Protestants, males and females. Of the males there were: husbandmen and vine-dressers, 1838; bakers,<sup>3</sup> 56; masons,<sup>3</sup> 87; carpenters, 124; shoemakers, 68; tailors, 99; butchers, 29; millers, 45; tanners, 14; stocking-weavers, 7; saddlers, 13; glass-blowers, 2; hatters, 3; lime-burners, 8; schoolmasters, 18; engravers, 2; bakers,<sup>3</sup> 22; brickmakers, 3; silversmiths, 2; smiths, 35; herdsmen, 3; blacksmiths, 48; potters, 3; turners, 6; statuarys, 1; surgeons, 2; masons,<sup>3</sup> 39. Of these 11,294 there were 2556 who had families."<sup>4</sup>

We have given 1712 as the date of the first settlement on Pequea Creek because the record of their land-purchase bears that date. It is possible that a few Germans had begun to take up land here earlier.

The manner in which they radiated from Germantown can be seen in the following statement: "In 1716 Germans, French and a few Hollanders began to break ground twenty, thirty, forty,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John Dickinson's Report of 1719.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the descendants of those who settled in Ireland may still be found in Ulster.

<sup>3</sup> Enumerated twice because quoted verbatim.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Frankfurter-Mess-Kalender von Ostern bis Herbst 1709*, S. 90.



sixty, seventy miles from the chief town"<sup>1</sup> (Germantown). Large German settlements were made at the same time in the present Berks County. In 1717 a German Reformed society was formed in Goschenhoppen; some Low German Mennonites were settled on the Perkiomen and Schippack (Skeppack) creeks; Germans and French in Wahlink, and some Huguenots in Oley.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1719 about twenty families of Schwarzenau Baptists (Täufer) came to Philadelphia, Germantown, Schippack (in Oley), Berks County, and to Conestoga, and Mühlbach (Mill Creek), Lancaster County. From the *Chronicon Ephratense* is taken the following account of this company of "Täufer," now generally known throughout the State as Dunkards (Dunker or Tunker): "At the beginning of the 18th century arose a large sect called Pietists, representing all ranks and stations. Of these, many returned to the church and became Church-Pietists (Kirchen-Pietisten); the rest betook themselves to the districts of Marienborn, Schwarzenau, and Schlechtenboden. From this latter branch two different societies were formed, 'Die Inspirations-Verwandten' and 'Die Schwarzenauer Täufer.' In the year 1708 the following eight persons broke the ice: Alexander Mack as teacher, a certain very rich miller of Schriesheim on the Bergstrasse, his 'Hausschwester,' a 'Witwe Nöthigerin,' Andreas Bone, Johann Georg Honing, Lucas Vetter Keppinger, and a certain nameless armorer. From these eight persons originated all the 'Taufgesinnten' among the High Germans in North America. The society of 'Täufer' (Baptists) in Schwarzenau became widely extended. One branch of it settled in Marienborn, and in the year 1715 are found in Crefeld. In 1719 a party of them under Peter Becker came to Pennsylvania."

A few lines further on the *Chronicle* says of Konrad Beissel, the founder of the cloister at Ephrata,<sup>3</sup> that he was expelled from the Kur-Pfalz, "like many others from Frensheim, Lambsheim, Mutterstadt, Frankenthal, Schriesheim, and other places, the most of whom [i. e. of which persons] ended their days in Pennsylvania." Konrad Beissel arrived in Boston, Mass., in 1720, came to Conestoga, Lancaster County, Pa., and settled at Mühlbach the same year.

<sup>1</sup> Rupp, 30,000 German Names, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 29, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Siedensticker, *Bilder*, for a most interesting account of this cloister and the life in it.

In the next company of Germans who settled in the province of Pennsylvania we find a remarkable instance of the toilsome migration of the time. In order to trace the steps of these weary wanderers who came to seek a peaceful retreat in the wild freedom of Tulpehocken, we must revert to the years 1708-9. These Germans were among the unfortunates who, driven by bitter persecution from the Kur-Pfalz, had gone to England in 1708-9. At Christmas, 1709, four thousand were shipped in ten vessels to New York, where they arrived June 10, 1710. In the following fall they were taken to Livingston's Manor to work out their passage from Holland to England and from the latter to America. In 1713 they were released from the debt and betook themselves, about one hundred and fifty families, to Schoharie, N. Y. Most of these migrated to Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania, in 1723. The leading spirit of this Tulpehocken settlement, however, was Konrad Weiser, who came with another accession of Palatines in 1729 and located near the present Womelsdorf, which had been settled by the Schoharie Palatines.

The following report (made 1764) of Keith's administration (about the year 1729) affords additional testimony as to the great numbers of Germans coming in at that time: "He [Keith] settled in Pennsylvania a number of Palatines, . . . and those emigrants poured in such numbers into Pennsylvania that the government of the province refused to receive any more unless they paid a pecuniary consideration for their reception. This obliged many ships full of them to go to other British settlements." In one year no less than 6200 Germans and others were imported into the colony. In this same year that company of the Täufer which had gone in 1720 to Westervam in West Friesland came to Pennsylvania. There is record of seventy-five Palatine families who arrived in Philadelphia in August of 1729 and settled in Quintaphilla, which seems to have been partly occupied, 1723-9, by the Schoharie settlers. In this same year (1729) emigrants from Germany settled also in the eastern part of the same county (Lebanon), and a company of German Jews made a settlement near Scheafferstown, the present inhabitants of which are largely of German descent. Here these Jews had a synagogue, and as early as 1732 a necropolis. In 1730 a few Dutch settled in Pike township, Berks County, where many of their descendants are still living. Kutztown in the same county was settled by Germans about 1733.

In 1734 a considerable number of Schwenkfelders settled in Hereford township and on contiguous lands in Berks, Montgomery, and Lehigh counties, where many of their descendants are still to be found. Their number in 1876 was given as about three hundred families, constituting eight hundred members, with five churches and one school-house.<sup>1</sup>

The next settlement of importance was made by the Moravians at Bethlehem, Northampton County, Pa. In the spring of 1740<sup>2</sup> Peter Böhler left Georgia with a few Moravians from Herrnhut, Saxony, who had attempted a settlement among the Creek Indians in 1734. In 1741 they began to build the town of Bethlehem (the present centre of the Moravian Church North). In 1745 most of those who had settled in Georgia, numbering several hundred families, migrated to Pennsylvania because they were religiously opposed to bearing arms in the war with Spain. They settled for the most part in the counties of Berks, Montgomery, Bucks, and Lehigh, and organized a church at Emaus as early as 1747.<sup>3</sup>

In 1748 Reading, Berks County, was founded and continues to be one of the strongest German centres of the State. Dr. Egle's words are fitting here: "Reading, at the erection of Berks County (1752), contained three hundred and seventy-eight inhabitants. The original settlers were principally Germans from Würtemberg and the Palatinate, with a few Friends under the patronage of Penn. Most of the inhabitants being Germans, they gave character to the language and customs. For many years the German tongue was almost exclusively spoken, and is still used in social intercourse and religious worship in a considerable portion of the present population. Till 1824, the date of the erection of the first Presbyterian church, the religious services of the churches were held in German."<sup>4</sup> What is here said of Reading is true in

<sup>1</sup> Mr. J. V. Heckler writes me under date of September 17, 1887, that the Schwenkfelders' settlement is divided into two districts, the Upper and the Lower. They have six churches, located as follows: In the Upper District, (1) the Upper Hanover township, near the county line of Montgomery, Lehigh, and Bucks counties; (2) on the "Teufel's Loch," Washington township, Berks County; (3) in Hosensack Valley, Upper Milford township, Lehigh County. In Lower District, (1) in the eastern corner of Lower Salford township; (2) in southern corner of Towamencin township; (3) in southern part of Worcester township; last three all in Montgomery County.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Henry's *Lehigh Valley* (in five numbers), No. 2, pp. 172 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Reichel, *Friedensthal and its Stockaded Mill*, Northampton County (1749-1767).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chapter on Reading in Egle's *History of Pennsylvania* (ed. of 1876).

general of many smaller towns in the German districts of the State. One needs only to pass along the streets of Hamburg, Allentown, Lancaster or York, to find himself environed by this peculiarly German atmosphere.

Thus I have traced the history of the German settlements of Pennsylvania through the period of colonization, as it may fitly be termed, without implying, of course, that the stream of emigration from the above named districts of Germany ceased to flow in the middle of the 18th century. On the contrary, the influx of Germans became so great as to be almost uncontrollable. This will be seen in the following: "Im Herbste 1747 kamen nicht weniger als 7049 Deutsche in Philadelphia an. Im Sommer jenes Jahres landeten 12,000 Deutsche."<sup>1</sup>

In the preceding pages the directions have been indicated in which this great German migration moved for the most part till the year 1848.

## II.—PERIOD OF MIGRATION AND FRONTIER SETTLEMENT (1750-1800).

The second period of Pennsylvania German history from circa 1750-4 to the beginning of the present century was one of great agitation and extensive migration within the limits of Pennsylvania as well as beyond its borders. The peaceful colony to which the beneficent Penn, the pioneer of religious tolerance in America, had invited the persecuted of every creed, began to be disturbed by the omens of war. The savage neighbors of copper hue, won at first by the manly negotiations of Penn, and christianized in great numbers by the pacific teachings of both Quakers and Moravians, were now incited by the fury of France and became hideous monsters, spreading terror and death with the relentless tomahawk. Hardly had the Indian war-whoop, mingling in weird accord with the battle-cries of France, died away in the forest gloom, when the alarm of revolution sent dismay throughout the fair province of Pennsylvania, heralding the event which was to solve the problem of American independence, and transform loosely settled colonies into compact States of the Union.

After the close of the Revolution a new movement begins in Pennsylvania. Enterprising pioneers from New England, New York and eastern Pennsylvania push into the northern and western

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dr. W. J. Mann, *Die Gute Alte Zeit in Pennsylvania*, S. 24, and *Hallische Nachrichten*, S. 125.

portions of the State, opening to the commerce of the world rich products of the soil and treasures of the mine. But to understand the migrations of Germans already settled in the province, and the isolated cases of this movement prior to 1750, it will be necessary to glance at the feud between the Pennsylvania Germans and the Scotch-Irish. Throughout almost the entire extent of the Kittatinny Valley, from northeastern Pennsylvania to northern Maryland, the Scotch-Irish were either already settled or settling when the Germans came into the region. It is a remarkable fact that most of the important settlements first made by the former are now occupied by the latter. This is particularly the case in the present counties of Lancaster, York, Franklin, and Cumberland.<sup>1</sup> Apart from the apparent natural antipathy in the character of these races, the most potent cause of the feud was the Cressap rebellion in 1736. This was a raid made on the incoming German settlers in the southern part of York County. Cressap had come up from Maryland with "about fifty kindred spirits" and offered the Scotch-Irish, as their share of the booty, the improvements made by the Germans, on condition that they should aid him in dislodging the latter. From their failure in the attempt to drive out these so-called German intruders the Scotch-Irish have to date the era of their retreat before the advancing Teutons. This advance was sustained, not by force of arms, but by more efficient instruments of conquest, untiring industry and thrift. Following the track of these events, we find the Germans gradually occupying the greater portion of lower Lancaster, York, and much of Franklin and Cumberland counties, while the Scotch-Irish move on into the unsettled districts along the Susquehanna and Juniata, with the Germans in their wake. It is but fair to state that the Scotch-Irish preference for the stirring scenes of border life doubtless played a considerable rôle in this general migratory movement.

As early as 1728-9 we find Germans settling west of the Susquehanna in the rear of the advancing Scotch-Irish. In 1741 Fred. Star and other Germans settled in Perry County, probably near Big Buffalo Creek. New Germantown was afterwards laid out and named after Germantown near Philadelphia. Pfautz Valley in the same county was settled about 1755 by Pfautz, a

<sup>1</sup> In Cumberland County the displacement is not so far-reaching as in the others mentioned. In the large towns especially the Scotch-Irish population has continued to predominate.

German. Most of the settlers seem to have come from the eastern part of the State.

As early as 1747 a number of German families ventured to locate in Schuylkill County. Geo. Godfried Orwig and others from Germany settled at Sculp Hill, a mile south of Orwigsburg. A Yeager (Jaeger) family from near Philadelphia came to this valley about 1762.

Soon after 1752 the Scotch-Irish of old Allen township in Northampton County were supplanted by Germans. Kreidersville was named for one of the German farmers who came in 1765. Gnadenhütten (the present Lehighton and Hanover townships) was occupied by Germans.

In the year 1755 a colony of Dunkards (or Baptists) settled in Blair County in what is called the Cove, where many of their descendants are still to be found "retaining well-nigh the same simplicity which marked their fathers—non-resistants, producers, non-consumers."<sup>1</sup>

In the years 1757-60 many of the Scotch-Irish in Cumberland County were supplanted by Germans. Even as early as 1749 the agents of the Proprietaries were instructed not to sell any more land to the Irish, but to induce them to go to the North Kittatinning Valley.

In 1764 Hanover, York County, was laid out. The following year (1765) records a noble civilizing enterprise undertaken by the Moravians among the Indians. April 3d of this year eight Moravian adults and upwards of ninety children set out from Bethlehem and reached Wyalusing, in the present Bradford County, May the 5th. This mission, opened by Zeisberger, the Moravian apostle to the Indians, 1763, received the name Friedenshütten. A school-house was built in which both adults and children learned to read the Delaware and German languages.<sup>2</sup> The place became a Christian German-Indian town. In the year 1772 (June 11th), however, they began their exodus from Friedenshütten in two companies, one under Ettwein, the other under Rothe.<sup>3</sup> At the time of the exodus they numbered one hundred and fifty-one souls. For the Moravian work among the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Egle, Centennial Hist. of Pennsylvania, cf. Cove, Blair County.

<sup>2</sup> The rich results of Zeisberger's lexicographical work are carefully preserved, for the most part in manuscript form, in the Moravian library at Bethlehem, Pa.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ettwein's Journal.

Indians this was "the era of gradual decadence extending down to our own times, when there is but a feeble remnant of Christian Indians ministered to by the Moravians dwelling at New Fairfield, Canada, and New Westfield, Kansas."<sup>1</sup>

In 1769 Berlin, in Brathes Valley, Somerset County, was settled by Germans. Later some Mennonites came and joined this settlement.

In 1773 Isaac Valkenburg, with his sons-in-law, Sebastian and Isaac Strape, from Claverack on the Hudson, settled at Fairbanks, Bradford County. Thither came also Germans from the neighborhood of Philadelphia. In this same year the Pennamites sent a German, Phillip Buck, to settle at the mouth of Bowman's Creek, and two others who settled at the mouth of Tunkhannock Creek in Wyoming County. There were possibly others with them.

In the years 1787-9 John Nicholson gathered from Philadelphia and the lower Susquehanna about forty Irish and German families and settled them in Hopbottom, Susquehanna County. Dutch Hill, in the same county (just north of Wyalusing), was settled by persons of Dutch descent born in New York. In Cambria County the main source of the population was Pennsylvania German stock. Their pioneer was Joseph Yahns, and those who followed him were for the most part Dunkards and Mennonites or Amish. Yahns arrived in 1791 at Kickenapawling's old town. The others settled in the adjacent county, principally at Amish Hill. Their descendants are still to be found around Johnstown (Johns- or Yahnstown). A colony of German Catholics settled near Carrolltown. Columbia County was entered by Germans (among them Christian Brobst or Probst and Georg Knappenberger) in the year 1793. Germans are now found in great numbers around Catawissa, where formerly Quakers held sway. Zelenople and Harmony in Butler County are occupied mainly by Germans descended from a society of Harmonists who settled there in the years 1802-3.

In 1807 Herman Blume, a native of Hesse-Kassel, with others, founded a German settlement at Dutch Hill, Forest County. Blume was followed by many of his fellow-countrymen (Hessians). In this (Forest) county was laid, too, the scene of many of Zeisberger's labors.

Greene County was filled up after the Revolution from the eastern counties of the State and foreign immigration. Where

<sup>1</sup>Quoted from Rev. W. C. Reichel by Egle, *Hist. of Pa.*, p. 414.



the mixture is so promiscuous it is difficult to discriminate after one or two generations.

About 1830 Mennonites and Dunkards settled near McAllisterville in Lost Creek Valley, Juniata County.

Germans in Baltimore and Philadelphia effected a settlement on the "community plan" at St. Mary's, Elk County.

In 1842 and 1845 Garner brought from Europe an industrious company of settlers who located in Benzinger township in the same county.

Thus we have traced in general outlines the history of German settlement in Pennsylvania down to that period of German emigration initiated by the revolutionary troubles of 1848.

For our purposes these later arrivals have no special importance. In considering the dialect of the Pennsylvania Germans, it is the *formative periods* which are of the greatest significance, because during these the language not less than the people took firm possession of Pennsylvania soil. It will be noticed that in many cases only the bare mention of an isolated German settler has been made. We have given the few traces that history has preserved for us, being thus thankful for now and then a silent landmark to indicate the track of the settler. It remains for the local investigator to trace family genealogies and note local peculiarities of speech-mixture in these minor settlements.

Having thus glanced at the successive German settlements of Penn's province in their chronological order, let us consider more particularly the speech elements transplanted to Pennsylvania soil by these in-coming settlers. At the very outset the question arises, Why should these German colonists have retained their language and, to no slight extent, their manners and customs, while the Dutch and Swedes along the Delaware, and the French<sup>2</sup> in the western part of the State, practically lost all traces of their original speech? To answer this it will be necessary to consider the number and distribution, the religious, social, political and intellectual character and aims of these early German settlers.

<sup>1</sup> The application of Fourier's economic plan in the Teutonia community is an interesting experiment for political economists of the present day.

<sup>2</sup> The French settlement near Leconte's Mills and Frenchville, Clearfield County, and the Norwegian-Swedish settlement under the direction of Ole Bull in Potter County, are too recent to fall within the scope of our present investigation. Either of these settlements, however, would amply repay a summer tramp if any dialectician should feel disposed to try the invigorating air of northern Pennsylvania.

It is not possible to ascertain the exact number of Germans who settled in Pennsylvania from 1682-1753, because in the years of the largest influx great numbers were allowed to enter the province and take up land near their fellow-countrymen without record or notice of either their origin or destination. We can, however, determine the number approximately from the official reports of the time. For the ship-lists prior to 1727 no adequate documents are accessible or, so far as is known, extant; from 1727-1777 Rupp's "Collection of 30,000 German Names" serves our purpose. According to Rupp, only about two hundred families of Germans had come to Pennsylvania before the year 1700. These had settled in and around Germantown. Sypher states that nearly 50,000 Germans had found homes in the province before 1727, the year Rupp's lists begin. In 1731 the Lutheran membership of Pennsylvania numbered about 17,000, and that of the German Reformed Church about 15,000 (chiefly from the districts of Nassau, Waldeck, Witgenstein, and Wetterau). In 1752, of the 190,000 inhabitants of the province about 90,000 were Germans.<sup>1</sup> In 1790, according to Ebeling,<sup>2</sup> the German population of Pennsylvania was 144,660. Thus we may safely estimate the German population of the State in the year 1800 at 150,000. In 1870 the aggregate population of Pennsylvania numbered 3,521,975, of which number 1,200,000 were of German descent and 160,146 directly from Germany, thus leaving 1,039,854 (more than six sevenths of the entire number of German blood) born for the most part on American (Pennsylvania) soil.

When we come to the distribution of Pennsylvania Germans in those districts where they have preserved their dialect, it will be found impossible to give exact figures, because (1) no accurate record of births, deaths, removals and accessions is kept as is the case in Canada;<sup>3</sup> (2) many, especially merchants not of German descent, speak the dialect fluently; (3) many who are of German extraction no longer speak the vernacular of their ancestors, but regard it with an air of contempt, and use every means to become Americanized and lose even the reminiscences of their German traditions. That greatest of levelling influences, the public school, makes it imperative to speak English, thus dividing

Cf. Seidensticker, *Gesch. d. d. Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien*, S. 18; Dr. Smith, *Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania*.

<sup>2</sup> Ebeling, *Beschreibung der Erde, Abtheilung, Pennsylvanien*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Prof. Elliott, *American Journal of Philology*, 1885, pp. 135 ff.

families, so that often the parents speak their dialect among themselves and to the children, while the latter speak English among themselves and to the parents. In many sections of the State, Lancaster and York counties for example, which one or two generations ago were distinctively German, the old vernacular is fast disappearing and the English is becoming the current speech, leaving only the name of speaker and locality as reminders of a once flourishing German community. It is possible, however, to indicate approximately the status of what may be termed distinctively Pennsylvania German districts. For the most part the genuine Pennsylvania German is to be found in the agricultural districts and country towns and villages, although in cities like Philadelphia, Allentown, Reading and Harrisburg there are large numbers whose vernacular is Pennsylvania German. In such cities as those just named it is possible to hear almost every dialectic variation, from the language of the Swiss to that of the Hollander, from the patois of the peasant to the polished speech of the literatus. But if we pass beyond the sphere of these great levelling centres, we shall find the original dialect and, to no slight extent, the customs of the simple pioneers in full sway. It is only necessary to state here that as a rule the general historic outlines have remained intact, the old settlements gradually enlarging, and in many cases sending out from their midst more adventurous spirits who became the nuclei of new settlements in the western counties of the State. The Germans were for the most part agriculturists or local artisans and possessed their land. There have usually been some younger representatives willing to cultivate the paternal acres and perpetuate the ancestral title to the soil.

To recapitulate, the distribution of the dialectic elements may be stated as follows:

In the first settlement at Germantown were Crefelders till 1709-10, when the "Pfälzer"<sup>1</sup> began to pour in from the Palatinate. Here are represented (1) *Low Frankish* and *Rhine Frankish*, of the Lower Rhine province near Düsseldorf; (2) *South Frankish*, near the North Alemannic (Suabian) border; (3) *South Frankish*, specifically *Rhine Palatinate* (*Rheinpfälzisch*); (3) *South Frankish*-

<sup>1</sup> The term "Pfälzer" as used in the ship-lists is not sharply defined, and may apply to representatives not only of the Pfalz (Kurpfalz) but to any Rhineland, and sometimes, it would seem, to any German. As a matter of fact, however, the most of the so-called Pfälzer were from the Rhenish Palatinate, as their dialect shows. This will be discussed in another chapter.

*Alemannic* of Alsace and Lorraine. In Berks County, where the inhabitants are stigmatized as "dumb Dutch," the speech-elements were (1) "*Rheinpfälzisch*," brought into Wahlenk and Oley by French Huguenots temporarily living in the Palatinate and by native Palatines; into Tulpehocken by the New York Palatines from Schoharie and others direct from the Palatinate; (2) *Alemannic*, brought into Bern by the Swiss; (3) *Welsh* in Brecknock, Caernarvon, Cumru, Robeson, and Union townships; (4) *Swedish* in Union township; (5) *Silesian*, probably with Saxon and other elements, brought by the Schwenkfelder into Hereford township and lands adjoining in Lehigh and Montgomery counties; (6) *English*<sup>1</sup> in Union township; (7) *Dutch*;<sup>2</sup> (8) *Swabian* at Reading.<sup>3</sup>

In the region of Eden (Pequea-Thal), Lancaster County, we find *Alemannic* elements from Zürich, Bern, Schaffhausen, and possibly a considerable mixture of "*Rheinpfälzisch*," which latter, with probably many other dialectic varieties, came also with the Dunkards (Tunker) to the regions along the Conestoga and Mühlbach, Lancaster County, and also to Skippack in Oley, Berks County.

The few Dutch that settled near Pottsville, Schuylkill County, brought *Low German* elements, as did those also in Pike township, Berks County.<sup>4</sup>

Into Northampton County came with the Moravians, *Upper Saxon* elements (Sachsen-Altenburg), and extended into Berks, Bucks, Montgomery, and Lehigh counties.

Thus it is seen that the ethnic elements which developed the Pennsylvania German speech represent a wide and varied linguistic territory. Nor must it be supposed that, inasmuch as the Pennsylvania German is spoken of as a unit, such a complete

<sup>1</sup> English is mentioned here to show the variety of speech-elements represented in this one county. It will be understood that the English element is a constant quantity in every settlement of any importance in the whole province.

<sup>2</sup> To Hamburg, Berks County, came the speech of Hamburg, Germany, but it soon came into contact with the great Pfälzisch current and was merged in it and in the neighboring dialects.

<sup>3</sup> In and around Reading, Berks County, the dialect elements were chiefly Swabian and Rhine Frankish, many of the settlers having come from Würtemberg and settled with Pfälzer from the various sources mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> In Pike township, Berks County, the Dutch element is quite small compared with the Alemannic and Rhine Frankish.

levelling has taken place as to render it impossible to trace the original dialectical characteristics. This will receive fuller treatment in the chapter on Phonology.

The causes leading to the perpetuation of these peculiarities were in general the same as those which preserved to our time this widely spoken dialect itself. Rupp remarks that the Germans who came to Pennsylvania before 1717 were for the most part persons of means. This in many cases was true, but they were as a class from the humbler walks of life, seeking a quiet retreat from the storms of persecution. They were men of firm convictions, and in many cases deeply imbued with the spirit of pietism. They cherished the traditions of the Fatherland, cared little for political power or prominence, were content to till their fertile acres in this occidental Eden unmolested in their religious and social rights and liberty.

Here is a state of political units quite different from the early settlers of New England, where the responsibility of government was keenly felt by the individual settlers when they met in that greatest of Teutonic institutions, the town meeting. Besides the unobtrusive character of the early Pennsylvania Germans, there were other potent forces favoring the perpetuation of their language, such as the organization of German schools in all important German centres, the establishment of printing presses in Germantown and Ephrata, from both of which towns German-American publications were distributed in great numbers throughout the province, varying in importance from Sauer's American edition of the German Bible and the *Chronicon Ephratense* to the simplest tract and calendar. The pulpit has been and continues to be the great bulwark of conservative strength.

## II.

## ABBREVIATIONS.

Aarg.	= Aargau dialect.
A.-S.	= Anglo-Saxon (Old English).
Basl.	= Basel dialect.
Br. Gr.	= Braune's Althochdeutsche Grammatik.
Brandt	= Brandt's German Grammar.
Bav.	= Bavarian dialect.
D.	= Dutch (Holländisch).
Fischer P.-D. G.	= Fischer's Pennsylvanisch-Deutsche Gedichte.
Fischer K. Z.	= Fischer's Kurzweil und Zeitvertreib.
Goth.	= Gothic.
Grimm	= Grimm's Deutsche Grammatik.
H.	= Haldeman's Pennsylvania Dutch.
Horn	= 'm Horn sei, Buch.
Kl. (Kluge)	= Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch.
K.	= Kobell's Gedichte in pfälzischer Mundart.
lex.	= lexical(ly).
M. H. G.	= Middle High German.
N. (Nadler)	= Nadler's Gedichte in Pfälzer Mundart.
N. H. G.	= New High German.
N. E.	= New English (Modern English).
O. H. G.	= Old High German.
O. N.	= Old Norse.
U. P.	= Upper Palatinate (Oberpfalz).
O. S.	= Old Saxon.
P. G.	= Pennsylvania German.
Paul Mhd. Gr.	= Paul's Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik (Zweite Aufl.).
Rauch	= Rauch's Pennsylvania Dutch Hand-book.
R. P.	= Rhine Palatinate dialect (Rheinpfälzisch).
Sanders	= Sanders' Deutsches Wörterbuch.
Sch. Pdn.	= Schade's Paradigmen.
Sch. M. B.	= Schmeller, Die Mundarten Bayerns.
Sch. B. W.	= Schmeller's Bayerisches Wörterbuch.
Sch.	= Schandein's Gedichte in Westricher Mundart.
Sch. Id.	= Schweizerisches Idiotikon.
S.-C.	= Sievers-Cook, Grammar of Old English.
W. A. G.	= Weinhold's Alemannische Grammatik.
W. B. G.	= Weinhold's Bairische Grammatik.
W. Mhd. Gr.	= Weinhold's Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik.
Westr.	= Westrich dialect.
Wien.	= Wiener Dialekt (Vienna dialect).
Z.	= Zeller's Dichtungen in pfälzischer Mundart.

## PHONOLOGY.

§1.—The conclusions of the introductory chapter show clearly that the speech elements transplanted to Pennsylvania were pre-eminently those from the Rhenish Palatinate. The chapters on phonology and morphology will substantiate the fact that Pennsylvania German, in borrowing from English to enrich its vocabulary, has by no means forfeited its birthright and become a pitiable hybrid of *bad German and worse English*, but, on the contrary, has perpetuated in their pristine vigor the characteristics of its venerable European ancestor, the Rhine Frankish, specifically *Rhine Palatinate*, "*Rheinpfälzisch*."

The following comparative view of Pennsylvania German phonology represents what is recognized in eastern and central Pennsylvania as the Pennsylvania German dialect. A more detailed treatment of *dialectal differences* in various portions of the State is reserved for a subsequent chapter. For reasons which will appear in the preface, a normalized text, differing from any yet in use among P. G. writers, has been adopted. The following treatment locates the P. G. form historically by stating (1) the Pennsylvania German word; (2) (in parenthesis) the New High German and New English etymological and lexical equivalents, where the latter differ from the former; (3) the Rhine Palatinate, Rhein-Pfälzisch or Westrich (usually the most nearly related European dialect; cf. Ethnographical Introduction, pp. 18-20); and (4) the Old High German equivalent (where peculiarly interesting, the Rhine Frankish form of the O. H. G. period). The most nearly related forms are printed in type so that the eye can catch at a glance the affinities of the word under consideration.

In order to give both German and English readers a *complete picture* of our dialect, we have given the N. H. G. and N. E. equivalents, even at the risk of stating what the philologist would sometimes readily supply.

The phonetic notation has been reduced to the simplest possible system. It is to be regretted that the new system of notation proposed by the Modern Language Association of America is not ready for adoption. After comparing the systems of Bell, Sweet, Storm, Winteler, and Sievers, I have adopted the following. It seemed preferable to retain the *v* instead of using in its place the *o* with the hook or inverted *c*, inasmuch as this sound is written *a* in most of the Germanic languages. In the table below, the equivalents in Winteler's system are given in ( ).



## §2. TABLE OF EQUIVALENTS.

Vowels P. G.	Winteler.	New English equivalent and example.
ʁ	(o <sup>2</sup> approaching a)	o in hot, a in what.
ʁ	(ø <sup>1</sup> approaching a)	aw in law.
æ	(Sievers' æ <sup>2</sup> as modified by the following r.)	a in marry.
æ̃		a in car.
ë		e in clever.
e	(e <sup>2</sup> )	e in met, bet.
ē	(ē <sup>1</sup> )	a in pale, sale.
ə		last e in seven.
i	(i <sup>2</sup> )	i in six, fix.
ī	(ī <sup>1</sup> )	ee in keel, feel.
o	(o <sup>2</sup> )	o in omission.
ō	(ō <sup>1</sup> )	ō in home.
u	(u <sup>2</sup> )	u in pussy.
ū	(ū <sup>1</sup> )	oo in pool, fool.
Diphthongs:		
ʁi (= ʁ + i)	(ø <sup>1</sup> + i <sup>2</sup> )	oy in boy, coy.
eu	(o <sup>2</sup> + u)	ou in house.
ei (cf. H. §3)	(a + i <sup>2</sup> )	ei in height.
ai (rare, cf. H., ch. I, §3), P. G. ex. hai!		ai in aisle (of London).

## §3. CONSONANTS.

b (voiceless) = b as in N. H. G. bitter.

v (voiced spirant, = b with a stroke and represents original *b*) = v as in N. E. never.

d (voiceless) = d as in N. H. G. Ding.

f (voiceless spirant) = f as in N. H. G. finden, N. E. find.

g (voiceless) = g as in N. H. G. Gift, N. E. gift.

ch (voiceless spirant, in Italics to distinguish from P. G. ch = N. H. G. ch) = g (ch) as in N. H. G. selig.

y (palatal, medial, = older intervocalic g) = y as in N. E. many a (when pronounced together).

h (aspirate) = h as in N. H. G. Hand, N. E. hand.

j (for original j or consonantal *i*) = j as in N. H. G. Jahr, N. E. year.

k (voiceless) = k as in N. H. G. König, N. E. king.

l = l as in N. H. G. lang, N. E. long.

l (strongly liquid when intervocalic) = ll as in N. E. willing.

m = m as in N. H. G. Heim, N. E. home.

n = n as in N. H. G. Name, N. E. name.

p (voiceless) = p as in N. H. G. Pein.

r = r as in N. E. ring, often trilled, when medial as in N. E. borough.

s (voiceless spirant) = s as in N. E. seven.

t (voiceless) = t as in N. H. G. Topf, N. E. top.

w represents original w (hw) less voiced (less dental) than w in N. H. G. was.

z (t + s) = ts as in N. E. cats.

ks (x).

dzh (= N. E. j in John).

sch (= š, N. H. G. sch) = sh as in N. E. short.

~ indicates nasality.

ch (= N. H. G. ch and written for it) = ch in N. H. G. ich.

## VOWELS.

*v.*

§4.—P. G. *v* has a sound approaching that of *o*, and is doubtless a very old one, as would appear from such forms as O. H. G. *scal* and *scol*, *halôn* and *holôn*, or better *zata* and *zota*, where no liquid influence has to be accounted for (cf. Br. Gr. §25, 6, 1). This sound (as short) has the same quality as the *a* in N. E. *wallow*; as long, it is well known to N. E. in *all*, *call*, *fall* (for A.-S. cf. S. C. §51; for Alemannic, cf. W. A. G. §112; for the change before nasals and *l* cf. W. Mhd. Gr. §20). The sound occurs also in other German dialects; cf. Sch. Id. S. XVI, Hügel's Wiener Dialekt, S. 10.

P. G. *v* represents:

1. Germanic *a*, N. H. G. *a*, R. P. *a* (for Bav. cf. Sch. M. B. §108). P. G. **nēcht** (N. H. G. *nacht*, N. E. *night*), R. P. **nacht** (Z.); P. G. **dēnk** (N. H. G. *dank*, N. E. *thank(s)*); P. G. **hēls** (N. H. G. *hals*, lex. N. E. *neck*; cf. *halse*, Spencer); P. G. **lēnd** (N. H. G. *land*, N. E. *land*), R. P. **land** (N.), Westr. *lann* (Sch.); P. G. **mēnn** (N. H. G. *mann*, N. E. *mān*); P. G. **hēnd** (N. H. G. *hand*, N. E. *hand*); P. G. **schēnd**(t) (N. H. G. *schande*, lex. N. E. *shame*).

Note 1.—In some cases P. G. has retained Germanic short *a*, while in N. H. G. this *a* has been lengthened. P. G. **fētər** (N. H. G. *vater*, N. E. *father*), R. P. **vadder** (N.), **vatter** (Z.), Bav. *vādər*, and *vattər*. M. H. G. *vater*, O. H. G. *vatar*.

2. *a* of Latin words introduced early. P. G. **kērd** (N. H. G. *karte*, N. E. *chart*, *card*), M. H. G. *karte* (< Fr. *carte*); cf. P. G. **kērd** (lex. N. H. G. *kämmen*; cf. *karden*, lex. N. E. *card wool*); cf. N. H. G. *karde*, M. H. G. *karte*, O. H. G. *charta* (lex. N. E. *teasel*, *cardoon*) < Lat. circa 7th cent. (Kluge).

3. Germanic *u* (except Gothic, which has *ai*, *au*). P. G. **dērch**, **dērēch** (N. H. G. *durch*, N. E. *thorough*, *through*), R. P. **durch**, but cf. R. P. *nor*, *norre* (= N. H. G. *nur*) and *worscht*, M. H. G. *durch*, *dur*, O. H. G. *duruh*, *durah*, *duri*, *dūr*, but Goth. *pairh*; P. G. **wērzəl** (N. H. G. *wurzel*, lex. N. E. *root*; cf. N. E. *wurt*), Goth. *wairts*; P. G. **wērscht** (N. H. G. *wurst*, lex. N. E. *sausage*).

4. *o* in N. E. words introduced into P. G. Ex.: P. G. **schop** (= N. H. G. *werkstätte*, N. E. **shop**; P. G. **schlop** (lex. N. H. G. *küchenabfall*, *schlampe*, N. E. **slop**, *swill*, an untidy female.

In consonantal combinations *sl*, *sp*, *st* of words borrowed from the English are usually pronounced *schl*, *schp*, *scht*, if initial; cf. §40.

§5.—P. G. *ɥ* corresponds to:

1. Original Germanic *æ* (Gothic *ē*); cf. W. A. G. §44. (For O. H. G. *ā* < Germanic *æ*, cf. Br. Gr. §34, a, 1). P. G. *ɥdər*, R. P. *a* (*o*), cf. pl. *oderə* (H.) (N. H. G. *ader*, lex. N. E. vein; cf. A.-S. *ædre*), R. P. *oder* (N.), Bav. *ādə*, *audə*, O. H. G. *ādara*; P. G. *mɥlə* (N. H. G. *mahlen*, lex. N. E. grind), R. P. *mähle* (N.), but cf. P. G. *molə* (N. H. G. *malen*); P. G. *mɥnə* (N. H. G. *mahne*, N. E. mane); P. G. *hɥsə* (N. H. G. *hase*, N. E. hare). For *jɥr* more generally *jōr*, *schlɥf*, generally *schlōf*; cf. §12, 3.

2. Germanic *au*, which in some cases > *ō* in O. H. G. (cf. Br. Gr. §45), and in others remained as a diphthong, written *ou* after the ninth century (cf. Br. Gr. §46), R. P. *aa* (*ā*), P. G. *dɥb* (N. H. G. *taub*, N. E. deaf); P. G. *dɥ* (N. H. G. *thau*, N. E. dew); P. G. *lɥfə* (N. H. G. *laufen*, N. E. leap, etymologically but lexically N. E. run and walk); R. P. *laafe* (Z. and K.), Westr. *lāfe* (Sch.).

3. Germanic *a*, R. P. *a*. P. G. *schɥdə* (N. H. G. *schade*, etymol. M. E., N. E. *scathe*, *scath*, lexically N. E. *damage*, *harm*); P. G. *nɥmə* (N. H. G. *name*, N. E. *name*), R. P. *name* (N. and Sch.); P. G. *sɥmə* (N. H. G. *samə*, lexically N. E. *seed*); cf. N. E. *semen* < Lat. *semen*.

Note 1.—This correspondence extends also to contracted monosyllables. P. G. *mɥd* (N. H. G. *magd*, N. E. *maid*), R. P. *mahd* (Z.), Bav. *màid*, *maəd*, M. H. G. *maget*, *meit*, O. H. G. *magad*, Goth. *magaps*.

4. N. E. *aw*, P. G. *lɥmëssig* (lexically N. H. G. *gesetzmässig*, *gesetzlich*), N. E. *according to law*, compound < N. E. *law* + German *mässig*. For formations of this kind cf. chapter on *English Mixture*.

## ë.

§6.—In P. G. as in O. H. G. original Germanic *ē* has remained (cf. Br. Gr. §29). Moreover, in many this *ē*, which in O. H. G. became *i* before *i* or *u* in the following syllable (cf. Br. Gr. §30, a and c), has persisted as *ē* in P. G. Ex.: O. H. G. *nimis*, *hilfs*, *nimu*, *hilfu* > P. G. *nëmscht*, *hëlfscht*, *nëmə*, *hëlfə*. (For infinitives see examples below.) As in O. H. G. so in P. G. this original *ē* is pronounced short and open. The following examples show in striking manner the lengthening of this *ē* in N. H. G. (cf. Brandt, §488, 2):

P. G. *gëvə* (N. H. G. *geben*, N. E. *give*), R. P. *gewwe* (N.

Z.), Bav. *gébim*; P. G. **nēmə** (N. H. G. *nehmen*, N. E. *take*, lexical equivalent, cf. A.-S. *niman*), Westr. **nemmə** (Sch.); P. G. **helf, nēm**, 2 sg. imper.; **gëbt, nemmt** (K.), **helft** (K.), **werd** (K.), 3 sg. indic., are all in keeping with the P. G. principle of avoiding the umlaut forms in the pres. indic. of strong verbs. The same tendency is found in other dialects, as for example R. P., Westr. The following are examples of nouns retaining this original Germanic *ē*: P. G. **schwēvəl** (N. H. G. *schwefel*, lexically N. E. *sulphur*; cf. A.-S. *sweffl*); P. G. **nēvəl** (N. H. G. *nebel*, lexically N. E. *mist, fog*; cf. O. S. *nēval*), R. P. **newwel** (Z.).

Note 1.—P. G. writers do not distinguish orthographically between original Germanic *ē* and *e* produced by the *i*-umlaut of *a*. For the latter we use the usual sign *e*.

§7A.—P. G. *e* represents:

1. *i* of words introduced (as early as O. H. G. period) from Latin (N. H. G. *ē*). P. G. **bech, pech** (N. H. G. *pech*, lex. N. E. *pitch* or *shoemaker's wax*), M. H. G. *bëch, pëch*, O. H. G. *bëh, pëh* (cf. M. H. G. *pfich*, O. H. G. *pfih* < Lat. *picem* in 7th cent., Kluge).

2. *e* by *i*-umlaut of *a*, (1) N. H. G. *e*. P. G. **denkə** (N. H. G. *denken*, N. E. *think*; cf. A.-S. *þencan* and *þyncan*, N. H. G. *dünken*); R. P. **denke** (Z.), Goth. *þagkjan*; P. G. **eng** (N. H. G. *eng*, lex. N. E. *narrow*), R. P. **eng** (N.), O. H. G. *angi*; P. G. **engəl**, R. P. **engel** (Z. N.), **ent, end** (N.), Goth. *aggilus, \*anups* (Kluge), *andeis*, respectively.

(2) N. H. G. *ä* < *i*-umlaut of original Germanic *a*. (For N. H. G. *e* and *ä* < *i*-umlaut of *a*, cf. Grimm, Gr. I 443, under AE.) P. G. **mechtich** (N. H. G. *mächtig*, N. E. *mighty*), O. H. G. *mahtig*; P. G. **kreftə** (N. H. G. *kräfte*; cf. N. E. *craft*); **krenklə, meschdə** (N. H. G. *kränkeln, mästen*).

An interesting verb falling under this class is P. G. **sich schemə** (N. H. G. *sich schämen*, N. E. *shame* [one's self], *be ashamed*), M. H. G. *sich schemen* or *schamen*, O. H. G. *sih scamên*, 1 and 3 weak conj., Goth. *sik skaman*. In the N. H. G. dialects the regular form is that with the umlauted stem-vowel: Aarg. *si schäme*, Basl. *schämme*, Vien. *schäme* (reflex), Westf. *sik schēmen*. From all these examples it would appear that O. H. G. should have had *\*skamian* corresponding to A.-S. *scamian* (*sceamian*). The M. H. G. forms *schemen* and *schamen* would support this supposition.

Note 1.—It is a question whether P. G. **secht** (= *sagt* or *sagte*?)

is to be considered as caused by the *i*-umlaut of *a*, or a case of assimilation of *a* in *sacht* (= *sagt*) to the *e* of the juxtaposed *er* (frequent in narration); thus *sacht-er* > \**saecht-er* > \**sächt-ər* > *secht-ər*. I prefer to consider it a case of umlaut by analogy. Forms like **er sächt**, **mar sächt** (N.) would favor this latter view.

3. Germanic *a* (N. H. G. *a*). P. G. **hen** (N. H. G. *haben*, N. E. *have*); cf. R. P. *hawwe*, **henn**, *hunn* (N.); *hen* is the regular form of the plural, and seems to show the persistence of the original *ē* of the second syllable; cf. O. H. G. *habēm-ēn* (*ēmēs*), 1 pl., and *habēn*, 3 pl. (Br. Gr. §304). The explanation would be that the *ō* > *w* and dropped, and the *a-e* were contracted into *e*. This contraction finds an analogue in M. H. G. *hân, lân* (1 pl.) < *haben, lâzen*, where the vowel of the first syllable carried the accent and persisted, while in P. G. that of the second syllable was retained. The differentiation into *hvvə* and \**hen* (infinitive), representing respectively the independent verbal idea of *halten* and the auxiliary *haben*, as in M. H. G. (cf. Paul, Mhd. Gr. §180, 181), is not found in P. G. P. G. **hen** occurs only in the plural, while **hvvə** is the regular form of the infinitive; cf. R. P. **hawwe** (N.).

4. (1) *a* in words borrowed from English (N. H. G. *a*), the P. G. representation of the N. E. pronunciation. P. G. **bendi** (N. H. G. *bantam*, N. E. *bantie*, vulgar for *bantum*); P. G. **mem** (N. H. G. *mamme*, **memm**, *mama*, N. E. **mam**, vulgar for *mama*).

(2) *e* in words introduced from N. E. P. G. **benreil** (*Hedeōma pulegioides*, N. E. *penny-rile*, vulgar for *pennyroyal*); P. G. **desk** (lex. N. H. G. *pult*, N. E. **desk**; for *e* before *r* cf. §17, 2); P. G. **fens** (lex. N. H. G. *zaun*, N. E. **fence**).

5. Sporadically N. H. G. *ei* in unaccented syllables. P. G. **ke**, also **kē** (N. H. G. *kein*, lex. N. E. *no* (adj.); P. G. **ən**, 'n (N. H. G. *ein*, N. E. *a* (one)) comes really under *ə*, §7B.

Note 1.—P. G. **des** is the regular form for N. H. G. *das* in unaccented positions; cf. W. Mhd. Gr. §30. To explain this as the *genitive* is quite unscientific and unnecessary, cf. H., pp. 35, 36.

6. (1) Sporadically N. H. G. *ie*. P. G. **schep** (N. H. G. *schief*, N. E. *skew*; cf. O. N. *skewfr*, Dutch *scheef*); R. P. **schebb** (N.); (cf. Kluge under *schief*, where he suggests Goth. \**skaiba*).

(2) N. H. G. *ī* of personal pronouns in unaccented positions. P. G. **enə** (N. H. G. *ihnen*, lex. N. E. *to them*), M. H. G. *in*, O. H. G. *im, in*, Goth. *im*. As all of these examples show, the original vowel was short, having been lengthened in N. H. G.; cf. Bav. *īner* (eəne' < *ihnen ihr*, Sch. B. W.).

7. (1)  $e < i$ -umlaut of  $o$  (N. H. G.  $ö$ ). P. G. **scheppə** (N. H. G. *schöpfen*, lex. N. E. dip, draw, Dutch *scheppen*, O. S. *skeppian*, M. H. G., O. H. G. *schepfen* (early O. H. G. *scopfen* < *scophian*); P. G. **leffəl** (N. H. G. *löffel*, lex. N. E. spoon), M. H. G. *leffel*, O. H. G. *leffil*. In both *scheppə* and *leffəl* we evidently have an  $i$ -umlaut of original  $a$ , the N. H. G. form with  $ö$  having come in during the M. H. G. period (but cf. N. E. scoop, etc.).

(2) But real representatives of  $i$ -umlaut of  $o$  (older  $u$ ) are P. G. **kennt**, **kennə** (N. H. G. *könnte*, *können*, N. E. could, can; cf. A.-S. *cunnan*); R. P. **kenne**, M. H. G. *kunnen*, O. H. G. *chunnan* (cf. Schade Paradig., pp. 96, 97). As will be seen from the above examples under  $e$ , a decided levelling has taken place in P. G. as compared with N. H. G. The sharp distinctions between the  $i$ -umlaut of  $a$  and of  $o$  have disappeared in P. G.; cf. Low German  $i$ -umlaut of  $a$ . What is here said of  $e$  is true also of  $\bar{e}$ , which includes an even larger number of sounds clearly differentiated in N. H. G. The full scope of this levelling process will become more evident in the comparative table which is to accompany this treatise.

$\bar{a}$ .

B.—P. G.  $\bar{a}$  represents the vowel of the flexional syllable. P. G. **rennə** (N. H. G. *rinnen*); **denə irə** (N. H. G. *denen ihre* = *ihrer*); **ebbər**, **ebbəs** (N. H. G. *jemand*, *etwas*; cf. §30, 2, 1, note 2).

§8.—P. G.  $\bar{e}$  corresponds to the following:

1. (a) Germanic  $ai$  before  $h$ ,  $r$ ,  $w$  (cf. Br. Gr. 14 b), N. H. G.  $\bar{e}$ . P. G. **ēr** (N. H. G. *ehre*, lex. N. E. honor; cf. A.-S. *âr*); R. P. **ehr** (Z.), Bav. *èr*, **ēr**, *èə'* (cf. O. P. *èiə'*); P. G. **lērə** (N. H. G. *lehren*, lex. N. E. teach; cf. N. E. *lore*, subs., and A.-S. *læran*, vb.); P. G. **sēl** (N. H. G. *seele*, N. E. soul), R. P. **seel** (N.); P. G. **kērə** (N. H. G. *kehren*, lex. N. E. turn); P. G. **mē**, **mēnər** (N. H. G. *mehr*, N. E. more), Westr. **mehner** (Sch.); P. G. **sē** (N. H. G. *see*, N. E. sea).

(b) Germanic  $ai$ , which became in O. H. G.  $ei$  in latter part of the eighth century (cf. Br. Gr. §44 and notes), N. H. G.  $ei$ . P. G. **dēl** (N. H. G. *teil*, N. E. deal), R. P. **dheel** (N.), Bav. *taəl*; P. G. **bē~** (N. H. G. *bein*, N. E. bone, lex. leg); P. G. **ēmər** (N. H. G. *eimer*, lex. N. E. bucket; cf. A.-S. *âmbor*, *ombor*), O. H. G. *eimbar*, *einbar*; P. G. **hēm** (N. H. G. *heim*, N. E. home), R. P. **hām** (Sch.), **heem** (Z. K.); P. G. **hessə** (N. H. G.

heissen, N. E. hight, lex. be called), R. P. **hesse** (Sch. Z. K.); P. G. **bēd** (N. H. G. beide, N. E. both), M. H. G. *beide*, *bēde*; P. G. **lēb** (N. H. G. laib, N. E. loaf); P. G. **lēd** (N. H. G. leid, N. E. loth (?)), Westr. **lēd** (Sch.), R. P. **leed** (Z.), but cf. P. G. **leidə** (N. H. G. leiden, lex. N. E. suffer).

2. (a) N. H. G. *ä*. P. G. **ēr** (N. H. G. ähre, N. E. ear (of grain), O. H. G. *ehir* (*ahir*).

*i*-umlaut of original *ā* (N. H. G. *ä*). P. G. **zē** (N. H. G. zäh, N. E. tough; cf. A.-S. *tōh*), O. H. G. *zāhi*; P. G. **kēs** (N. H. G. käse, N. E. cheese, A.-S. *cēse*), O. H. G. *chāsi* < Lat. *cōseus*.

(b) *i*-umlaut of Germanic *a*, N. H. G. *ē*, R. P. *e*. P. G. **rēd** (N. H. G. rede, lex. N. E. speech), M. E. rede (cf. N. E. redcraft, Barnes); cf. Goth. *raþjō*, R. P. **redde**, verb (N.), **redd**, substantive; P. G. **ēlend** (N. H. G. elend, lex. N. E. misery; cf. Goth. *aljis* (Kluge)); P. G. **mēr** (N. H. G. meer, lex. N. E. sea; cf. Goth. *marei*); P. G. **fārherə** (N. H. G. verheeren, N. E. *harry*, lex. N. E. devastate; cf. Goth. *harjis*); P. G. **frēvəl**, for original *b* cf. Kluge (N. H. G. frevel, lex. N. E. mischief); P. G. **lēgə** (N. H. G. legen, N. E. lay).

3. Original Germanic *ē* (cf. Br. Gr. §29, 30, c.), N. H. G. *ē*. P. G. **mēl** (N. H. G. mehl, N. E. meal), O. H. G. *mēlo*; P. G. **bētə** (N. H. G. beten, lex. N. E. pray), R. P. **bede** (N.), O. H. G. *bētōn*; P. G. **wēg** (N. H. G. weg, N. E. way), R. P. **weg** (N.); P. G. **bēsəm** (N. H. G. besen, N. E. besom), Bav. *besen*, **besem** (*bēsn*, *besm* (?)), M. H. G. *besen*, *bēsen*, *bēseme*, O. H. G. *bēsamo*.

4. N. H. G. *ē* in loan-words. P. G. **tē** (N. H. G. thee, N. E. tea), R. P. **thee**.

5. N. E. *a*. P. G. **mēb(p)əl** (N. E. **maple**, lex. N. H. G. ahorn); P. G. **lēn**, N. E. **lane**, N. H. G. ein schmaler weg, allee; **fēsə** (N. E. **face**, lex. N. H. G. gegenüber stehen oder stellen). P. G. shows a splitting of the (diphthong) sound represented in N. H. G. by *ei*, a part appearing as diphthongs, a part remaining as the simple vowel *ē* (*ə* or *e* in unaccented position). Even in the abstract terminations *-heit* and *-keit* the diphthong is often heard, though the more regular form is *ē* (*ə* or *e*). This wavering is seen also in the stem syllable of many words, as P. G. **klēd** and **kleid** (cf. R. P. **kleed** (N.)), both of which may be heard in the same district. This confusion is doubtless due to two causes: (1) the pronunciation of N. H. G. *ei* as heard from the pulpit; (2) the commingling of Germans representing districts of Germany in which the sound was pronounced respectively *ē* and *ei* (cf. the treatment of *v* and *vu*, §20).

6. *i*-umlaut *ʋ* (= N. H. G. *au*; cf. §20, 1), N. H. G. *äu*. P. G. **bēm** (N. H. G. *bäume*, N. E. beams, lex. trees); R. P. **bääm** (Z. N.), **beem** (K.).

This *ē* is the regular *i*-umlaut of *ʋ*, and not to be confused with the N. H. G. *i*-umlaut of *au* (= P. G. *vu*), which is *ei*. P. G. **geil** (N. H. G. *gäule*, lex. N. E. nags, draft-horses) < *i*-umlaut of *gvul* (cf. *vu*, §20, 2), R. P. **gaul** (N.), pl. **gaül** (Sch.), **gäul** (N.).

7. (a) *i*-umlaut of older (O. H. G.) *o* + *u*, N. H. G. *eu*. P. G. **frēa** (N. H. G. *freuen*, lex. N. E. rejoice), R. P. **fröd**, peasant speech *fraad* (N.), **fröt**, 3 sg., *gefrät*, p. p. (N.); Bav. *fräiä*~, *fräi*~, *fräi'n*, M. H. G. *fröuwen*, O. H. G. *frouwên* (< *froh*?).

P. G. **fərschprēa** (cf. N. H. G. *spreu*, lex. N. E. spread, cf. N. E. spray), M. H. G. *spraewen* (cf. Kluge under *sprühen*).

(b) *i*-umlaut of older *ō* (O. H. G. *ō* < Goth. *au*), N. H. G. *ö* (long), cf. P. G. *e* < *i*-umlaut of *o* (short) §7A, 7. P. G. **hērā** (N. H. G. *hören*, N. E. hear), R. P. **höre** = **hēre** (N.) (O. H. G. *hōrjan*, Goth. *hausjan*); P. G. **hē** (N. H. G. *höhe*, lex. N. E. height), R. P. **höh**, rhymes with *weh* (N.); P. G. **hēchər** (N. H. G. *höher*, comp. of *hoch*, cf. §38, 2, 1); P. G. **bēs** (N. H. G. *böse*, lex. N. E. bad, angry), R. P. **bös** (N.), O. H. G. *bōsi*.

8. Sporadic instances of P. G. *e*:

(1) for N. H. G. *ö* and *e*. P. G. **lēb** (N. H. G. *löwe* and *leben*, N. E. life).

(2) N. H. G. *ie* + *r*. P. G. **bēr** (N. H. G. *bierne*, lex. N. E. pear), R. P. *bire* (N.); cf. §10, 1.

(3) N. H. G. *ia*. P. G. **dēmend** (N. H. G. *diamant*, N. E. diamond); cf. Bav. *demut*, *demant*, "ademas" (Sch. B. W.).

(4) N. H. G. *ü*. P. G. **dēr** (N. H. G. *thür*, N. E. door), Westr. **dehrche** (Sch.); cf. R. P. *dhiir* (N.), M. H. G. *tür*, O. H. G. *turi*; cf. N. H. G. *thor*. P. G. would seem to be the *i*-umlauted form of *\*dori*; cf. O. S. *dor*, *duri*.

### *i*.

§9. Original Germanic *i* remains regularly in P. G. as in O. H. G. (cf. Br. Gr. §31. For exceptions in case of personal pronouns cf. *e*, §7A, 6 (2)). This *i* accordingly persists where, as in examples under 2, N. H. G. has lengthened it to *ie*. The province of *i* and *ī* (like that of *e* and *ē* of §§7, 8) is greatly extended by including the *i*-umlaut of *u* and *ū* respectively. P. G. *i* represents:

1. (a) Original Germanic *i*, N. H. G. *i* short. P. G. **bidde** (N. H. G. *bitten*, N. E. bid, including N. H. G. *bieten* and *bitten* (Kluge), Goth. *bidjan*).



P. G. **milich** (N. H. G. *milch*, N. E. *milk*); for the second syllable cf. §15; P. G. **dik** (N. H. G. *dick*, N. E. *thick*); P. G. **gift**, **fisch**, **finger**, **finne** (N. H. G. *gift*, *fisch*, *finger*, *finden*, N. E. *gift*, *fish*, *finger*, *find*).

(b) Germanic *i* lengthened to N. H. G. *ie*. P. G. **kisæl** (N. H. G. *kiesel*, N. E. *flint*, *pebble*, lex. N. E. *sleet*); cf. R. P. **ries** (N.), M. H. G. *kisel*, O. H. G. *chisil*; P. G. **sib** (N. H. G. *sieb*, N. E. *sieve*, but A.-S. *sife*); P. G. **sivə** (N. H. G. *sieben*, N. E. *seven*), R. P. **siwwe** (N.); P. G. **rigæl** (N. H. G. *riegel*, N. E. *rail*, lex. also *bolt*); P. G. **sigæl** (N. H. G. *siegel*, N. E. *seal*), R. P. **Siegel** (N.); P. G. **sicht**, 3 sg. ind. of **senə** (N. H. G. *sieht*, N. E. *sees*, older *seeth*), R. P. **sicht** (K.), **sickscht**, 2 sg. ind. (Z.) (cf. §7); P. G. **wisæl**, **widər** (N. H. G. *wiesel*, *wieder*, lex. N. E. *weasel*, *again*); cf. R. P. **widder** (Z.).

2. The *i*-umlaut of original short *u*. In P. G. all umlauted vowels have fallen to simple sounds,  $\ddot{o} > e$ ,  $\ddot{ö} > \bar{e}$ ,  $\ddot{u} > i$ ,  $\ddot{ü} > \bar{i}$ . P. G. **bichər** (N. H. G. *bücher*, N. E. *books*; cf. A.-S. *bêc*); P. G. **dinn** (N. H. G. *dünn*, N. E. *thin*), O. H. G. *dunni*; P. G. **brick** (N. H. G. *brücke*, N. E. *bridge*); P. G. **ivæl** (N. H. G. *uebel*, N. E. *evil*), O. H. G. *ubil*; P. G. **ivər**, R. P. **üwwer** (N.); P. G. **millər**, **missə**, **rick**, **sinn** (N. H. G. *müller*, *müssen*, *rücken*, *sünde* (or *sinn*)).

Note 1.—P. G. **zigæl** (N. H. G. *ziegel* and *zügel*, N. E. *tile*, A. S. *tigel*, and lex. *bridle*). In the former signification it corresponds to N. H. G. *ziegel*, M. H. G. *ziegel*, O. H. G. *ziagal* < Lat. *tegula*; in the latter to N. H. G. *zügel* (< *ziehen*), M. H. G. *zügel*, *zugel*, O. H. G. *zugil*, *zuhl* (cf. A.-S. *tygill*, N. E. *toil* = *labor*; cf. Skeat).

Note 2.—A sporadic instance of P. G. *i* for N. H. G. *äu* is P. G. **siffər** (N. H. G. *säufer*, N. E. *sipper*, in sense of *tippler*, *drunkard*), evidently by *i*-umlaut of original *\*suffjan* (for original *u* persisting cf. Br. Gr. §32). The two parallel series would then be as follows:

N. H. G. *säufer*, verb *saufen*, M. H. G. *slufen* < O. H. G. *slufan*, but P. G. *sif(f)ər*, M. H. G., O. H. G. *supfen* (*suffan*), Goth. *\*süþjan*, cf. with this N. E. *sup*, M. E. pr. p. *supping*, A.-S. *sūpan* and N. E. *sip*, A.-S. *sipan*. Both of these series point clearly to an original weak verb (with short stem-vowel) in both A.-S. and Gothic; cf. Welsh *sippian*.

Note 3.—P. G. *i* corresponds in a few cases to: (1) N. H. G. *ü* = Germanic *i* before nasals. Ex.: P. G. **finf**, **finif** (N. H. G. *fünf*, N. E. *five*, *n* dropped; cf. A.-S. *fif*), O. H. G. *funf* (older

*finf*), Goth. *finf*; (2) N. H. G. *ü*, where in the III<sup>b</sup> ablaut series (cf. Br. Gr. §337) orthographic confusion of *i* and *ü* crept in. Ex.: P. G. **hilf** (N. H. G. *hülfe*, *hilfe*, N. E. *help*), M. H. G. *hilfe*, *hëlfe*, O. H. G. *hilfa*, *hëlfa* (cf. Br. Gr. §31, *a*).

Note 4.—P. G. **krisch** (N. H. G. *geräusch* (?), N. E. *rush*, *lex. cry*, *shriek*).

*i.*

§10.—From §9 it was seen that a large number of older *i*'s remain in P. G. There were, however, some of these original short *i*'s which > long in P. G. as in N. H. G.; cf. §10 (*b*) below. P. G. *i* represents accordingly:

1. (*a*) Original *i* > N. H. G. *i*. P. G. **igæl** (N. H. G. *igel*, *lex. N. E. porcupine*); cf. Bav. *egel*, *igel*, O. H. G. *igil*; P. G. **bir** (N. H. G. *birne*, *lex. N. E. pear*); P. G. **idrich** (*lex. N. H. G. wiederkauen*, N. E. *ruminating*).

(*b*) Original short *i* > N. H. G. *ie* (cf. Br. Gr. §31, 5). P. G. **rīs** (N. H. G. *riese*, *lex. N. E. giant*), O. H. G. *risi*, *riso*; P. G. **schdīl** (M. H. G. *stiel*, N. E. *steal*, *stale* (*Skeat*), *lex. N. E. handle*), O. H. G. *stil*.

2. Original Germanic diphthong represented in O. H. G. by *io* (< *eo*) in 9th century (cf. Br. Gr. §17, *c*), N. H. G. *ie*. P. G. **bigə** (N. H. G. *biegen*, N. E. *bow*), O. H. G. *biogan*; P. G. **bīdə** (N. H. G. *bieten*, N. E. *bid* = *command*), A.-S. *beodan* (in the sense of *beat* = *overcome*, etc.; it is doubtless < the N. E. **beat**, A.-S. *beátan*), O. H. G. *biotān*; P. G. **dīb** (N. H. G. *dieb*, N. E. *thief*, R. P. **dieb** (N.)); P. G. **gis(s)ə** (N. H. G. *giessen*, *lex. N. E. pour*); P. G. **līd** (N. H. G. *lied*).

3. *i*-umlaut of older *u* < O. H. G. *uo* (< Germanic *ō* circa 9th cent.; cf. Br. Gr. §21, *d*). P. G. **file** (N. H. G. *fühlen*, N. E. *feel*), R. P. **füle** (Z.), Bav. *fiāln*, O. H. G. *fuolen*; P. G. **mīd** (N. H. G. *müde*, *lex. tired*), R. P. **mūd** (Z.), Westr. **mīd** (Sch.), O. H. G. *muodi*; P. G. **grī~** (N. H. G. *grün*, N. E. *green*), R. P. **grūn** (Z.), **grü** (K.); P. G. **trib**, **rīb**, **tīr** (N. H. G. *trübe*, *rübe*, *thüren*); *tīr* is pl. of *tēr* (*där*), cf. §8, 8, (4).

4. The corresponding sound in borrowed words. P. G. **schdīm** (N. E. **steam**); P. G. **plesir** (Fr. **plaisir**); P. G. **-īrə**, infinitive ending. Ex.: P. G. **kērəsīrə** (N. H. G. *karassiren*, N. E. *caress*, *lex. court*).

*o.*

§11.—P. G. *o* corresponds to the O. H. G. *o* < *u* before *a*, *e*, *o* in the following syllable (cf. Br. Gr. §32, *a*), and represents:

1. (a) N. H. G. *ō*. P. G. **koch** (N. H. G. *koch*, N. E. cook), cf. verb **kochə**, R. P. **kocht** (Z.), 3 sg. ind., O. H. G. *cochôn*; P. G. **loch** (N. H. G. *loch*, lex. N. E. hole), O. H. G. *loh*; P. G. **noch** (N. H. G. *noch*, lex. N. E. yet); P. G. **modəl** (N. H. G. *módel*, masculine, N. E. model), O. H. G. *modul*, but cf. N. H. G. *modél*, neuter, < Italian (Sanders).

(b) N. H. G. *ō*. P. G. **fogəl** (N. H. G. *vogel*, N. E. fowl), Bav. **fógl**, O. H. G. *fogal* (cf. Br. Gr. §32, a, 3); P. G. **ofə** (N. H. G. *ofen*, N. E. oven, lex. stove), R. P. **offe** (N.), Bav. *ofə*~; P. G. **odər** (N. H. G. *oder*, N. E. other, lex. or), R. P. **odder**, Bav. *ād'ə*, O. H. G. *ode*, *odo*; P. G. **gəzogə**, p. p. of **zīgə** or **zīyə** (N. H. G. *gezogen*), R. P. **gezoge** (N.); P. G. **wolfəl** (N. H. G. *wohlfeil*, lex. N. E. cheap), R. P. **wolfel** (N.); P. G. **kolrəbi** (N. H. G. *kohlrabi*, N. E. colerabi).

Note 1.—P. G. **hochzich** (N. H. G. *hochzeit*, lex. N. E. wedding), R. P. **hochzich** (N.), represents original *o* long. The P. G. adjective **hōch** is long, however, and thus perpetuates the long value of O. H. G. **hōh**. (For the conduct of *o* + *r* cf. §19, 2.)

*ō.*

§12.—P. G. *o* long represents :

1. O. H. G. *ō*, Goth. *au* (cf. Br. Goth. Gr. §25, also Br. Gr. §45), N. H. G. *ō*. P. G. **dōd** (N. H. G. *tod*, N. E. death), O. H. G. *tōd*; P. G. **lōn** (N. H. G. *lohn*, lex. N. E. reward); P. G. **nōt** (N. H. G. *noth*, N. E. need), R. P. **nōth** (Z.); P. G. **rōt**, **lōs** (N. H. G. *roth*, *los*, N. E. red, loose, less).

2. O. H. G. *o*, Goth. *u*, lengthened to N. H. G. *ō*. P. G. **wōnə** (N. H. G. *wohnen*, N. E. won, lex. N. E. dwell, cf. A.-S. *wunian*, N. E. wont, p. p. adj.), O. H. G. *wonēn*; P. G. **sōn** (N. H. G. *sohn*, N. E. son); P. G. **hōl** (N. H. G. *hohl*, N. E. hollow); P. G. **sōl** (N. H. G. *sohle*, N. E. sole); cf. R. P. **lohn** (N.), **bohn** (N.).

3. (a) Germanic *æ*, O. H. G. *ā* (cf. Br. Gr. §34, Grimm Gr. I 442, AA 1, β), N. H. G. *ā* (in some cases *ah*). P. G. **mōl** (N. H. G. *mal*, lex. N. E. time, cf. A.-S. *mâl*, *mael* in *Beowulf*), R. P. **mol** (Z. K.), Westr. **mol** (Sch.), O. H. G. *mâl* in *anamâli* (Kluge); P. G. **do** (N. H. G. *da*, N. E. there), Westr. **do** (Sch.), R. P. **do** (Z. K.); P. G. **nō** or **nō**~ (N. H. G. *nach*, lex. N. E. after) in verbal compounds like **nōrechə** (N. H. G. *nachrechnen*, N. E. rake after). Both **nōch** and **nō** are found in P. G. The latter is to be explained as having dropped the *h* when its spirant quality was lost.

The regular form in the accented position is **nōch**, R. P. **noh** (Sch.), **nooch** (Z.), **noht** (Z.); cf. Sch. M. B. §566; P. G. **mōl̥** (N. H. G. malen, lex. N. E. paint), R. P. **molt** (K.), 3 sg. ind.; P. G. **frōg̥** (N. H. G. fragen, lex. N. E. ask), R. P. **frog** (Z.) 1. sg. ind.; P. G. **brot̥** (N. H. G. braten, lex. N. E. roast), R. P. **brōt̥** (Z.); P. G. **blōs̥** (N. H. G. blasen, lex. N. E. blow; cf. blaze, blare), R. P. **blost** (Z.), 3 sg.; P. G. **nōt** (N. H. G. naht, lex. N. E. stitch).

(b) N. H. G. *aa* (*â*) representing O. H. G. *â* as 1 (*a*). P. G. **sōd** (N. H. G. saat, sat, new orthography, N. E. seed), R. P. **saat** (N.), O. H. G. *sât*; P. G. **wōg** (N. H. G. waage, lex. N. E. balance, scales, cf. verb weigh), O. H. G. *wāga*.

Note 1.—P. G. **zōl̥d** (N. H. G. zahnlade) represents O. H. G. *a*, but Goth. *u*.

Note 2.—In nouns of *wa*-stems P. G. *ō* corresponds to O. H. G. *â*, N. H. G. *au*. P. G. **blō** (N. H. G. blau, N. E. blue), Westr. **blō** (Sch.), R. P. **bloo** (Z.), O. H. G. **blāo**; P. G. **vg̥ebrōe** (N. H. G. augenbrauen, N. E. eye-brows); cf. O. H. G. *brāwa*.

### ÿ.

§13.—In P. G. as in O. H. G. original Germanic *u* persists before nasal combinations (cf. Br. Gr. §32, *a*). P. G. *u* represents:

1. (*a*) According to the above statement, N. H. G. *ÿ*. P. G. **dumm** (N. H. G. dumm, N. E. dumb, lex. stupid), O. H. G. *tumb*; P. G. **dunscht** (N. H. G. dunst, N. E. dust, lex. vapor); P. G. **schtund** (N. H. G. stunde, lex. N. E. hour), R. P. **schtund** (N.); P. G. **kunn̥** (N. H. G. kunden, lex. N. E. customers, cf. (un)cooth), O. H. G. *chund* (n. sg.).

(b) N. H. G. *ö*, O. H. G. *o* or *u* (cf. Br. Gr. §340, *a*, 3, *a*), *b*). P. G. **kum(m)̥** (N. H. G. kommen, N. E. come, cf. S.-C. §390, note 2); R. P. **kumme** (p. p. same) (N.), O. H. G. had the form *kuman*, cf. last ref. to Braune; P. G. **g̥anum(m)̥** or **g̥enom̥m̥**, p. p. of **n̥ēm̥** (N. H. G. genommen, lex. N. E. taken), R. P. **genumme** (N.), O. H. G. *ginoman*; P. G. **g̥arunn̥**, p. p. of **rinn̥** (N. H. G. geronnen, N. E. run), O. H. G. *g̥irun̥nan* (cf. Br. Gr. §32, *a*, and §336, Paul Mhd. Gr. §44); P. G. **sun̥n** (N. H. G. sonne, N. E. sun), R. P. **sun̥n** (N.), O. H. G. *sun̥na*; P. G. **sun̥scht** (N. H. G. sonst, lex. N. E. otherwise), R. P. **sun̥scht**.

Note 1.—P. G. **drumm** (N. H. G. lex. trommel, N. E. drum). At first sight one might be disposed to explain this word as a direct borrowing from the English, but a closer examination will

show that it is to be traced back to M. H. G. **trumme**, **trume**, **trumbe**, O. H. G. **trumpa**, **trumba**, by assimilation of  $b > m$  and dropping of the final  $e$ , which is the rule in P. G.

Note 2.—P. G. forms like **druckə**, **drockə** (N. H. G. trocken, lex. N. E. dry) represent a near approach of the  $u$  to  $o$ , a variation apparent in M. H. G. **trucken**, **trocken**, O. H. G. **trucchan**, **trocchan**, Bav. **trucken**.

Note 3.—In forms like **runding** or **rundung** the P. G. quite frequently employs the unumlauted form, a general tendency in P. G. most noticeable in verbs. N. H. G. has the same wavering, as for example **ründung**, **rundung**. P. G. **luschderə** (N. H. G. lüstern, N. E. lust); cf. also P. G. **luschderig**; P. G. **hupsə** (lex. N. H. G. hüpfen, N. E. to hop, cf. hop), R. P. **hupst**, 3 sg. (N.)

Note 4.—P. G.  $u$  occurs sporadically in **nuckə** for N. H. G. **nicken**, lex. N. E. nod.

2. The corresponding sound in words introduced from N. E.: P. G. **kunschtəblər**, < N. E. constable(?), N. H. G. **konstabler**; P. G. **dzhump** < N. E. jump, lex. N. H. G. springen.

#### $\bar{u}$ .

§14.—P. G.  $\bar{u}$  represents the last stage of the passage of Germanic  $\delta$  into  $\bar{u}$  (cf. Br. Gr. §38, 39, 40). In certain districts of P. G. territory, however, the last of the diphthong-forms  $uo$  is heard. I have noted the sound especially in the speech of the Swiss Dunkards of York Co. Ex.: **guot** (the  $u$  more prominent than the  $o$ ) for the usual form **güt**. P. G.  $\bar{u}$  represents accordingly:

1. Germanic  $\delta$ , N. H. G.  $\bar{u}$ . P. G. **blüt** (N. H. G. blut, N. E. blood), O. H. G. **bluot**; P. G. **müt** (N. H. G. mut, N. E. mood, lex. courage, spirit), R. P. **muth** (N.), O. H. G. **muot**; P. G. **grüb** (N. H. G. grube, lex. N. E. pit); P. G. **bū**, **büb** (N. H. G. bube, N. E. "bub," boy), R. P. **Bu** (N.); P. G. **blüm** (N. H. G. blume, N. E. bloom, lex. flower), Westr. **blum** (Sch.).

Note 1.—P. G. **fūfzē** < funf (N. H. G. fünfzehn, N. E. fifteen) is due to compensatory lengthening, the  $n$  having dropped. The beginning of this change may perhaps be seen in forms like **pūnd**, **mūnd** (cf. Kluge).

Note 2.—Sporadically for older  $\bar{a}$ , N. H. G.  $o$ . P. G. **wū** (N. H. G. wo, N. E. where), R. P. **wo**, **wu** (Sch.), O. H. G. **wa**, older **wār**. Perhaps the more general pronunciation of this word is **wo**. In addition to the meaning *where*, this **wo** (**wū**) in P. G. is used like the N. E. relative *who*, and as such is to be considered a sur-

vival of older relative; cf. R. P. **wo** = *welcher*, *der* (Nadler, S. 216). Note that the adverb **dō** is always written with *ō* and not \***dū** = N. H. G. *da*.

Note 3.—P. G. has regularly **ūf** (N. H. G. *auf*, N. E. *up*, cf. A.-S. *ūp*), R. P. **ūf**, *uff* (Z.), M. H. G., O. H. G. *ūf*; P. G. **ūfpickə** (N. E. “pick up,” lex. N. H. G. *auflesen*).

### *Influence of liquids.*

§15.—One of the most striking phenomena of P. G. phonology is the extensive levelling influence of *r* on the preceding vowel, a fusion of the vowel and liquid sounds. But before considering this specific influence of *r* it will be better to dispose of the process generally termed

### *Svarabhakti.*

The development of a vowel between a liquid and the immediately following consonant. P. G. **milich** (N. H. G. *milch*, N. E. *milk*); cf. O. H. G. *miluh*; P. G. **aervæt** (N. H. G. *arbeit*, lex. N. E. *work*), R. P. **arweit** (Z.), Bav. **arwet**, M. H. G. *arebeit* (*arbeit*), O. H. G. *arabeit*; P. G. **mërik** (**mërikt**) (N. H. G. *markt*, N. E. *market*); P. G. **baerik** (N. H. G. *berg*, lex. N. E. *mountain*, *hill*); P. G. **dërich** (N. H. G. *durch*, N. E. *thorough*, *through*); P. G. **schterik** (N. H. G. *stark*, N. E. *stark*, lex. *strong*).

§16.—This phenomenon extends to the nasals *m* and *n* alone following a vowel. P. G. **gënə** (N. H. G. *gehen*, N. E. *go*); cf. R. P. **dhunne** (N.); P. G. **sënə** (N. H. G. *sehen*, N. E. *see*). This vowel-development is a natural outgrowth of the vocalic character of the liquid which Haldeman has termed in the case of *r* its “trilled” quality. P. G. **wëmməs** (N. H. G. *wams*, better *wamms*, lex. N. E. *jerkin*), R. P. **wammes** (N.), was considered by Haldeman (§9) to be due to such dissyllabization, but it is rather to be regarded as the older dissyllable still persisting; cf. M. H. G. *wambeis*, *wambes*, O. Fr. *gambais* (Kluge). Most of the forms under §15, however, are to be found in O. H. G.; cf. O. H. G. *churib*, *starah*, *përag*, *kirich* and variants, also Br. Gr. §69, *b*, Weinb. B. G. §162.

### *Influence of r on the preceding vowel.*

§17.—A much more extensive phenomenon than that treated above is the levelling influence of *r* on the preceding vowel, thus reducing N. H. G. *a*, *ä*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *ö*, *u*, *ü* to sounds varying between *ae* and *v* in P. G. The preponderance seems to be in favor of *ae*,

as will appear from the examples. As possible indications of this liquid influence in O. H. G. cf. such forms as *lērnen* and *lirnen*, *skērm*, *skirm*, *ēr* and *ir*, but cf. Br. Gr. §31, an. 2, 3, Paul, Mhd. Gr. §43. More significant forms are O. H. G. *wurhta* and *worhta*, *furhten* and *forhten* (cf. Br. Gr. §32, an. 1).

In P. G. there are practically two of these pre-liquid sounds, each having a long and a short *æ* (*ǣ*), *ʋ* (*ʋ̄*). The long sounds, however, are not of very frequent occurrence.

P. G. *æ* + *r* represents:

1. Germanic *ǣ*, N. H. G. *a*. P. G. **aerəvət**, **aervət** (N. H. G. arbeit, lex. N. E. work), O. H. G. arabeit.

Examples not numerous in genuine German words, but more frequent in forms < N. E. where the N. E. pronunciation is retained.

2. *i*-umlaut of Germanic *ā*, N. H. G. *ä*, *e* = *ä*, and *e* = *ë*. P. G. **aergərə** (N. H. G. ärgern, lex. N. E. provoke); P. G. **faervə** (N. H. G. färben, lex. N. E. dye); P. G. **aervə** (N. H. G. erbe, N. E. heir), O. H. G. *erbi*, *arbi*; P. G. **waerk** (N. H. G. werg, lex. N. E. tow), O. H. G. *wërc*, *wërach*; P. G. **zwaerch** (N. H. G. zwerg, lex. N. E. dwarf); P. G. **haerz** (N. H. G. herz, N. E. heart), R. P. **herz** (N.); P. G. **haerbscht** (N. H. G. herbst, N. E. harvest, lex. autumn).

3. N. H. G. *i* < older *i* or Gothic *é*. P. G. **zaerkəl** (N. H. G. zirkel, N. E. circle), O. H. G. *zirkil* (< Lat. *circulum*); P. G. **gəhaern** (N. H. G. Gehirn, lex. N. E. brain), O. H. G. *hirni*; P. G. **haersch** (N. H. G. hirsch, N. E. hart, lex. N. E. deer); P. G. **kaersch** (N. H. G. kirsche, N. E. cherry, cf. Skeat); P. G. **kaerch** (N. H. G. kirche, N. E. church), R. P. **kerch** (N.); P. G. **aerdə** (N. H. G. irden, N. E. earthen).

4. N. H. G. *ö* (*o*?), *i*-umlaut of *o*, N. H. G. *ö* (*o*?). P. G. **daerrə** (N. H. G. dörren (dorren), N. E. dry, lex. cure), O. H. G. *dorrēn*; P. G. **haerə** or **hērə**, cf. §8, 7, (*b*) (N. H. G. hören, N. E. hear); P. G. **kaerb** (N. H. G. körbe, lex. N. E. basket (cf. corbel)).

5. *i*-umlaut of original *u*, N. H. G. *ü*. P. G. **fərkaerzə** (N. H. G. verkürzen, lex. N. E. shorten); P. G. **waerflə** (N. H. G. würfeln, lex. N. E. throw dice), **waerg** or **waeryə** (N. H. G. würgen, lex. N. E. choke).

Note 1.—P. G. **daerbendīn** = (N. H. G. turpentin, N. E. turpentine). This is sporadic occurrence of P. G. *æ* = N. H. G. *u*. *hierin*  
*gesch, von dem uraltē*

*æ* + *r*.

§18.—For cases of *æ* cf. P. G. **bāer** (N. H. G. bär, N. E. bear); P. G. **kaēr** (N. H. G. karre, N. E. car). This word would seem  
*Wirk*

to be the N. E. *car*, inasmuch as the vowel is long. It may therefore be a word recently introduced without any reminiscence of the German *karre*. The pronunciation is evidently due to English influence.

*v* + *r*.

§19.—P. G. *v* + *r* represents :

1. Germanic *a*, N. H. G. *a*. P. G. **b<sup>er</sup>mhaerzich** (N. H. G. barmherzig, lex. N. E. merciful); P. G. **d<sup>er</sup>m** (N. H. G. darm, N. E. gut, cf. tharm); cf. P. G. **d<sup>er</sup>ms<sup>et</sup>** (N. H. G. darmseite, cat-gut); P. G. **d<sup>er</sup>m<sup>el</sup>**, **d<sup>er</sup>mlich** (cf. N. H. G. taumel, taumelich, lex. N. E. giddiness, giddy; cf. also P. G. **k<sup>er</sup>dolisch** for a clear case of inserted *r*, N. H. G. katholisch, cf. Weinh. Alem. Gr. §197, Weinh. B. Gr. §163); P. G. **h<sup>er</sup>d** (N. H. G. hart, N. E. hard); P. G. **k<sup>er</sup>t** (N. H. G. karte, N. E. card); P. G. **b<sup>er</sup>g<sup>a</sup>-ment** (N. H. G. pergament).

Note 1.—Sporadic is P. G. **d<sup>er</sup>** (N. H. G. theer, N. E. *tar*). <sup>see Germanic</sup> (p. IV) It is possible that N. E. influence is to be looked for here.

2. (a) Germanic *o*, N. H. G. *o*. P. G. **m<sup>er</sup>y<sup>a</sup>** (N. H. G. morgen, N. E. morning), R. P. **m<sup>or</sup>ge** (N.); P. G. **d<sup>er</sup>n** (N. H. G. dorn, N. E. thorn); P. G. **f<sup>er</sup>n<sup>a</sup>** (N. H. G. vorne, lex. N. E. in the front); P. G. **o<sup>er</sup>d** (N. H. G. ort, lex. N. E. place); **f<sup>er</sup>-gesch<sup>t</sup><sup>a</sup>r** (N. H. G. vorgestern, lex. N. E. day before yesterday).

(b) N. H. G. *u*, Goth. *au*. P. G. **d<sup>er</sup>scht** (N. H. G. durst, N. E. thirst), Goth. **p<sup>a</sup>urstei**; P. G. **d<sup>er</sup>d<sup>al</sup>d<sup>e</sup>ub**, **-d<sup>u</sup>b** (N. H. G. turteltaube, N. E. turtledove); P. G. **f<sup>er</sup>cht** (N. H. G. furcht, N. E. fright); P. G. **h<sup>er</sup>tich** (N. H. G. hurtig, lex. N. E. hurry); P. G. **k<sup>er</sup>z** (N. H. G. kurz, N. E. curt); P. G. **s<sup>ch</sup>erz** (N. H. G. schurz, N. E. short, lex. shirt, apron).

Note 1.—In certain districts there is some variation in the pronunciation *a* and *o* before *r*, but the presentation given above generally obtains (cf. 'm Horn sei Buch, vocabulary).

Note 2.—For *v* + *r* cf. forms like **w<sup>u</sup>r** (N. H. G. war, N. E. was); **g<sup>u</sup>r** (N. H. G. gar, lex. N. E. even).

Note 3.—Long *u* + *r* and long *o* + *r* generally remain in P. G. Ex. **b<sup>o</sup>r<sup>a</sup>**, later lengthening as in N. H. G. (N. H. G. bohren, N. E. bore), R. P. **b<sup>oh</sup>re**, O. H. G. **b<sup>or</sup>on**. There are, however, exceptions, as P. G. **n<sup>er</sup>** and **n<sup>ur</sup>**.

Note 4.—P. G. **wa<sup>er</sup>r<sup>a</sup>**, **w<sup>er</sup>r<sup>a</sup>** (N. H. G. werden, worden). For *r* due to the assimilation of the *d* to the preceding *r*, and an extension of this phenomenon in Westrich, cf. §42.



*Diphthongs.*

§20.—The N. H. G. diphthong *au* is represented in P. G. by two sounds: (1) the long vowel-sound *ɶ*; (2) the regular N. H. G. diphthong-sound *vu*. The limits of these sounds, however, are not sharply drawn, as will be seen from doublets like **dɶub** and **dɶb** (N. H. G. taube).

*vu.*

1. P. G. *ɶ* represents (in this N. H. G. *au* category):

(1) Germanic *au* < O. H. G. *ou* (beginning of 9th century; cf. Br. Gr. §53, §46), N. H. G. *au*. P. G. **dɶf** (N. H. G. taufe, N. E. dip, lex. baptism), O. H. G. *toufa*(i); P. G. **bɶm** (N. H. G. baum, N. E. beam, boom, lex. tree), O. H. G. *boun*, Germanic form not clearly traced; P. G. **frɶ** (N. H. G. frau, lex. N. E. wife), R. P. **fraa** (N.); P. G. **lɶfə** (N. H. G. laufen, cf. §5, 2).

2. P. G. *vu* represents:

(1) Germanic *ū* = O. H. G. *ū*, N. H. G. *au* (cf. Br. Gr. §41). P. G. **brɶud** (N. H. G. braut, N. E. bride), O. H. G. *brūt*; P. G. **hɶus** (N. H. G. haus, N. E. house), R. P. **haus** (N.); P. G. **hɶut** (N. H. G. haut, N. E. hide), R. P. **haut** (N.); P. G. **mɶul** (N. H. G. maul, lex. N. E. mouth), R. P. **maul** (N.); P. G. **mɶus** (N. H. G. maus, N. E. mouse); P. G. **sɶu** (N. H. G. sau, N. E. sow); P. G. **hɶufə** (N. H. G. haufe(n), N. E. heap); P. G. **sɶufə** (N. H. G. saufen, cf. §9, 2, Note 2). For other representatives of the N. H. G. *au* (as *ō* = *au*, *ū* = *au*) cf. §§12, 3, n. 2, 14, n. 3.

*ei.*

§21.—The N. H. G. *ei* like *au* has two correspondences in P. G. 1, *ē*, and 2, *ei*.

P. G. *ē* represents:

1. Germanic *ai*. P. G. **dēlə** (N. H. G. theilen); P. G. **blēch** (N. H. G. bleich); P. G. **bē**~, cf. R. P. **beeñ**-haus (N.) (N. H. G. bein); P. G. **bēd** (N. H. G. beide). This simple vowel representative of the Germanic *ai* was not unknown to O. H. G. (cf. Br. Gr. §44 an. 4). Braune's explanation of this phenomenon as due to "orthographische nachlässigkeit" is not consistent with the facts presented by our dialect, for there is a clear distinction of sound in P. G. between *ē* and *ei*. This *e* would develop naturally out of O. H. G. *ei* by supposing that the accent was on the first vowel of the diphthong and later overshadowed the *i*. Thus *ei* pronounced

as Braune claims,  $\text{> } e + i > \text{ } \acute{e} + i > \bar{e}$ , all of which may be found in the dialect pronunciation. Thus the O. S. contraction of  $ai > \acute{e}$  would be an analogous process, and the subsequent insertion of the  $i$  by the scribe would be to restore the original diphthong form, which harmonized with his pronunciation of the vowel. The O. H. G. forms *uuêz*, *ênîgan*, *gihêzzan*, *bên* are all doubtless true orthographic representations of the sounds as pronounced in certain parts of O. H. G. territory (in these cases Frankish); cf. P. G. *wëss* (N. H. G. *weiss*), R. P. *wees* (Z.), *ēnichə* (N. H. G. *einig*), *gəhëssə* (N. H. G. *geheissen*), cf. R. P. *heest* (N.), Westr. *hësst* (Sch.), *bē*, (N. H. G. *bein*).

P. G. *ei* represents :

1. Germanic *i* (Goth. *ei*), N. H. G. *ei*. P. G. *beissə* (N. H. G. *beissen*, N. E. *bite*), O. H. G. *blizzan*; P. G. *weis* (N. H. G. *weis*, N. E. *wise*), O. H. G. *wîs*.

2. O. H. G. *iu*, N. H. G. *eu*. P. G. *feiər* (N. H. G. *feuer*, N. E. *fire*), O. H. G. *fiur*; P. G. *scheiər* (N. H. G. *scheuer*, lex. N. E. *barn*), O. H. G. *sciura*.

3. *i*-umlaut of the diphthong *au*, N. H. G. *äu*. P. G. *heisər* (N. H. G. *häuser*, N. E. *houses*). Note that the *i*-umlaut of *v* (N. H. G. *au*) is  $\bar{e}$  (cf. §8, 6).

Note 1.—As in the case of *v* and *vu* there were doublets, so in the case of *e* and *ei* the same is true. This vacillation is most noticeable in the feminine endings *hēt* and *heit*, *kēt* and *keit*, R. P. *kāt* and *keit* (N.).

#### *vi*.

§22.—The P. G. diphthong *vi* (cf. Preface) represents :

1. O. H. G. *ei*, N. H. G. *ai* in a few words. P. G. *mvi* (N. H. G. *Mai*, N. E. *May*), O. H. G. *meio*.

2. O. H. G. *ei*, N. H. G. *ei*. P. G. *vi* (N. H. G. *ei*, N. E. *egg*), O. H. G. *ei*; P. G. *wvi* (N. H. G. *weihe*, lex. N. E. *hawk*), but O. H. G. *wie*.

3. N. E. *oy*. P. G. *pvi* (N. E. *pie*, lex. N. H. G. *kuchen*). It will be noticed that this sound has undergone the change required by the phonetic law of P. G., that of pronouncing the *a* back. Accordingly the Italian *a + i* (as in Eng. *pie*)  $\text{>}$  regularly P. G.  $v + i$ .

Most of these sounds noted under *vi* are limited, however, to a comparatively small number of words.

M. D. LEARNED.

## III.

## CONSONANTS.

§23.—In treating the P. G. consonants, it has been found most convenient to consider them under the following divisions :

- |                             |   |  |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| I. Sonorous consonants      | { | 1. Semivowels <i>j</i> ( <i>y</i> ), <i>w</i> ( <i>v</i> ).                          |
|                             |   | 2. Liquids <i>l</i> , <i>r</i> .   |
|                             |   | 3. Nasals <i>m</i> , <i>n</i> .  |
| II. Non-sonorous consonants | { | 1. Labials <i>b</i> , <i>p</i> , <i>f</i> .  |
|                             |   | 2. Dentals <i>d</i> , <i>t</i> , ( <i>th</i> ), ( <i>dh</i> ), <i>s</i> , <i>z</i> . |
|                             |   | 3. Palatal gutturals <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> , <i>ch</i> ( <i>g</i> ).                   |

*Sonorous Consonants.*

§24.—1. Semivowels *j* (*y*).

(1) P. G. initial *j* corresponds to Germanic *j* (*i*). P. G. **jör** (N. H. G. *jahr*, N. E. *year*), R. Pf. **jor** (Z., Sch.), **johr** (K.), O. H. G. *jār*; P. G. **jung** (N. H. G. *jung*, N. E. *young*), R. P. **jung** (N.), O. H. G. *jung*.

(2) P. G. *y* (medial for *j*) represents Germanic *g*. M. H. G. often dropped such a *g* between vowels; cf. Paul, Mhd. Gram. §73. The phenomenon, however, seems to be very much more extended in P. G. than in M. H. G. P. G. **seryə** (N. H. G. *sorge*, N. E. *sorrow*), R. P. **sorge** (N.), O. H. G. *soraga*; P. G. **meryə** or **moryə** (N. H. G. *morgen*, N. E. *morning*), R. P. **morge** (K., N.); P. G. **felyə** (N. H. G. *felge*, N. E. *felloe*); P. G. **beryə** or **boryə**, but often **borgə** (N. H. G. *borgen*, N. E. *borrow*); P. G. **reyə** and **regə** (N. H. G. *regen*, N. E. *rain*). Such double forms are not infrequent. This *y* is especially frequent where a liquid precedes.

Note 1.—In sporadic cases this *y* represents N. H. G. *h*. P. G. **rüyə** (N. H. G. *(ruhe) ruhen*, lex. N. E. *rest*), O. H. G. *rouwēn*.

*w* (*v*).

§25.—1. P. G. *w* occurs initially both alone and in combinations, and represents :

(1) Germanic *w*, N. H. G. *w*. P. G. **werd** (N. H. G. *wort*, N.

E. word), R. P. **wort** (N.), O. H. G. *wort*; P. G. **woll** (N. H. G. wolle, N. E. wool), O. H. G. *wolla*; P. G. **wolf** (N. H. G. wolf, N. E. wolf).

(2) Germanic-Gothic *hw*, N. H. G. *w*. P. G. **wæer** (N. H. G. wer, N. E. who), older O. H. G. *hwër*, Goth. *hwas*; P. G. **wel** (N. H. G. welch, N. E. which, cf. A.-S. *hwylc*), Goth. *hwêleiks*, cf. Br. Gr. §292, an. 1, 2, R. P. **well**, cf. N. s. 216.

(3) P. G. *w* occurs in the following initial consonantal combinations: *kw* (older *qu*), *schw* (older *sw*), *zw* (< Germ. *tw*), cf. Br. Gr. §107. P. G. **kwellə** (N. H. G. quellen, lex. N. E. boil), O. H. G. *quëllan*; P. G. **schwërz** (N. H. G. schwarz, N. E. swart), O. H. G. *swarz*; P. G. **zwē** (N. H. G. zwei, N. E. two), R. Pf. **zwee** (Z., K.), O. H. G. *zwei*, Goth. *twai*.

2. Medial *w* (written *v* to distinguish it from original *w*). This intervocalic *v* represents:

(1) The original medial soft spirant *b* (cf. Br. Gr. §134, and an. 1; Paul, Mhd. Gram. §§33, 81, anm.), N. H. G. *b* between vowels. or a liquid and a vowel. P. G. **gëvə** (N. H. G. geben, N. E. give), R. P. **gewwə** (N.), O. H. G. (O. M. F. Tr. Cap.) **ce gevene**; P. G. **sëlvər** (N. H. G. selber, N. E. self, selv-), R. P. **selwer** (N.), O. H. G. (Tr. Cap.) *selvo*, *selvemo*, **selveru**.

Note 1.—P. G. *v* corresponds to N. H. G. *f* < *v* < *b* (cf. Paul, Mhd. Gram. §33), P. G. **hævər** (N. H. G. hafer, lex. N. E. oats; cf. A.-S. *haefer*), R. P. **hawwer**, O. H. G. *habaro*; P. G. **schwëvəl** (N. H. G. schwefel, lex. N. E. sulphur, cf. A.-S. *swefl*); O. H. G. **swëval**, **swëbal**.

Note 2.—P. G. *w* is voiceless in words borrowed from N. E. P. G. **həspowər** (N. E. **hospower** (vulgar for horse-power, lex.), N. H. G. *pferdekraft*). This *w* is retained to show that it is not native to P. G. It differs from the P. G. medial *v* in being pronounced voiceless.

3. P. G. *w* does not really occur as a final, but in the case of *wo*-stems appears as a hiatus, as in M. H. G. (cf. Paul, Mhd. Gram. §§32, 74.)

### *Liquids l, r.*

§26.—1. P. G. *l*, initial, represents:

(1) Germanic *l*, N. H. G. *l* (cf. Br. Gr. §122). P. G. **lërə** (N. H. G. *lehren*, lex. N. E. teach, cf. A.-S. *læran*), R. P. **lehr**, subs. (K.), O. H. G. *lêren*.

(2) Germanic *hl*, N. H. G. *l*. P. G. **lɤfə** (N. H. G. *laufen*, cf. §5, 2); P. G. **laut** (N. H. G. *laut*, N. E. loud), O. H. G. *lāt* <

*hlāt*; P. G. *ludǽrvogǽl* (lex. N. H. G. aasgeier, lex. N. E. buzzard). For these short *u*-sounds cf. §13. Initial consonantal combinations with *l* are *bl*, *fl*, *gl*, *kl*, *pl*, *schl*.

2. Medial *l* in P. G. represents :

(1) Germanic *l*, N. H. G. *l*. P. G. *mōlǽ* (N. H. G. malen); P. G. *heilǽ* (N. H. G. heulen, lex. weinen, N. E. howl, lex. weep, cry), O. H. G. *hiuwilōn*; P. G. *kwēlich* (N. H. G. lex. quälend, N. E. lex. tormenting) = N. H. G. \*quälig.

(2) *l* in words taken from N. E. P. G. *kolik* (N. E. colic, lex. N. H. G. magenkrampf); P. G. *mælēsich* (N. E. molasses, lex. N. H. G. syrup).

Note 1.—The historic orthography has been retained in words which are under conditions of gemination (cf. Br. Gr. §§122, 96). P. G. *willǽ* (N. H. G. wille, N. E. will), O. H. G. *willo*, Goth. *wilja*. In pronunciation the sound is not easily distinguishable from *l* in *milich*, *welich*, *kelich*, etc. (cf. §15), which are written with simple *l*.

3. Final *l* in P. G. represents :

(1) (*a*) N. H. G. final *l* (= original *l*). P. G. *ēl* (N. H. G. oel, N. E. oil), O. H. G. *oli* (cf. Kluge).

(*b*) N. H. G. *-lch* < original Germanic *-lik*. P. G. *wel* (N. H. G. welcher, M. E. which), R. P. *well* (N.), O. H. G. *wēlich*; P. G. *sel* (N. H. G. solch, N. E. such), R. P. *sell* (N.), O. H. G. *solih*, *sulih* (cf. Br. Gr. §292, anm. 1, 2.)

## *r*.

§27.—1. Initial *r* in P. G. represents :

(1) (*a*) Germanic *r*, N. H. G. *r*. P. G. *rǽd* (N. H. G. rad, lex. N. E. wheel), O. H. G. *rad*; P. G. *rǽm* (N. H. G. rahm, older Eng. ream (Kluge), lex. cream).

(*b*) Germanic *hr*, N. H. G. *r*. P. G. *rīrǽ* (N. H. G. rühren, N. E. rear-, in rear-mouse, A.-S. hrēran); P. G. *rick* (N. H. G. rücken, N. E. ridge), O. H. G. *rucki* < older *hrukki*, R. P. *rück* (Z).

2. Medial *r* in P. G. represents :

(1) Germanic *r*, N. H. G. *r*. P. G. *ǽervǽ* (N. H. G. erbe, cf. §17, 2); P. G. *ǽervǽt* (cf. §17 (1)); P. G. *ǽeryǽrǽ* (cf. §17, 1).

(2) Older *s* by rotacism according to Verner's law; cf. Br. Gr. §182 *b* and §120. P. G. *hērǽ* (cf. §8, 7 (*b*)), Goth. *hausjan*; P. G. *rīrǽ* (cf. Goth. *hrizjan*?). For *rr* cf. remarks on *ll*, §26, 2, note 1.

3. Final *r* in P. G. represents :

(1) (a) Germanic *r* followed originally by a stem vowel, N. H. G. *r*. P. G. **hōr** (N. H. G. haar, N. E. hair) ; P. G. **wōr** (N. H. G. wahr, lex. N. E. true).

(b) Original *r* persists in P. G. ex. **jōr** (cf. §24, 1 (1)). For the dropping of original *r* in **wū**, **dō**, cf. Br. Gr. §120, an. 2.

*Nasals m, n.*

§28.—1. P. G. initial *m* represents :

(1) Germanic *m* (cf. Br. Gr. §123). P. G. **muddər** (N. H. G. mutter, N. E. mother) ; P. G. **mən** (N. H. G. mann, N. E. man) ; P. G. **mēer** (N. H. G. mähre, lex. stute, N. E. mare), O. H. G. *meriha*, *marha*. At first sight one might be disposed to consider this to have been introduced from N. E., but it is the form which would be regular for the dialect as indicated by the cognates above.

2. Medial *m* in P. G. represents :

(2) Original *m*, N. H. G. *mm*. P. G. **kēmər** (N. H. G. kammer, N. E. chamber), O. H. G. *chamera* < Lat. *camera* ; P. G. **sumər** (N. H. G. sommer, N. E. summer) ; P. G. **numə** (lex. N. H. G. nur, lex. N. E. only).

(1) Germanic *m*. P. G. **schemə** (N. H. G. schämen, cf. §7, 2 (2)) ; P. G. **schēməl** (N. H. G. schemel, lex. N. E. bolster), O. H. G. *scamal*.

(3) *m* in words introduced from N. E. P. G. **rumedis** (N. E. rheumatism, vulg. "**rheumatiz**" ; P. G. **nəminētə**, Rauch (N. E. **nominate**, lex. N. H. G. ernennen).

Note 1.

3. Final *m* in P. G. represents :

(1) Germanic *m*, N. H. G. *m*. P. G. **hēm** (cf. §8 (1) (b)) ; P. G. **keim** (N. H. G. keim, N. E. lex. germ), O. H. G. *chīm*, *chimo* ; P. G. **schəm** (N. H. G. schaum, N. E. scum (not mentioned by Kluge), lex. foam), O. H. G. *scām* ; P. G. **hēlm** (N. H. G. halm, N. E. halm), O. H. G. *halm*.

(2). N. E. *m* in words introduced on American soil. P. G. **bəssəm** (N. E. **opossum**, vulgar "**possum**," N. H. G. lex. amerikanische Beutelratte).

Note 1.—In a few words P. G. *m* in the unaccented final syllable remains, while in N. H. G. it has become *n* (according to the law of finals). P. G. **bēsəm** (N. H. G. besen, N. E. besom, lex. broom), O. H. G. *bēsamo*.

Note 2.—P. G. *mm* final represents N. H. G. *mm* (< original *m + b*). P. G. **dumm** (N. H. G. *dumm*, N. E. *dumb*), R. P. **dumm** (N.), O. H. G. *tumb*; P. G. **lamm** (N. H. G. *lamm*, N. E. *lamb*), O. H. G. *lamb*.

In P. G. **ōdēm** (R.), **ochdem** (H.), the original *m* is retained as in N. H. G. *athem*, *odem*, *oden*, *lex.* N. E. *breath*). R. P. *Westr. ochdem* (Sch.), O. H. G. *âtum*. Here two dialectic forms go side by side, an instance of the mixture not infrequent in P. G. forms. P. G. **bēlsem** (N. H. G. *balsam*, N. E. *balsam*), O. H. G. *balsamo*.

*n.*

§29.—1. P. G. initial *n* represents :

(1) Germanic *n*, N. H. G. *n* (cf. Br. Gr. §126). P. G. **nēcht** (cf. §4, 1); P. G. **nʳb** (N. H. G. *nabe*, N. E. *nave*, *hub*), O. H. G. *naba*; P. G. **nirə** (N. H. G. *nieren*, cf. M. E. *nêre*, *lex.* N. E. *kidneys*).

(2) Germanic *gn*, *hn* (*kn*). Cf. Braune, §150. P. G. **nʳgə** (N. H. G. *nagen*, N. E. *gnaw*), O. H. G. *nagan*, older *gnagan*; P. G. **nīd** (N. H. G. *niet*, *lex.* N. E. *clinch*), cf. O. H. G. *hniotan* (P. G. **nīdə**, N. H. G. *nieten*).

2. P. G. medial *n* represents :

(1) Germanic *n*, N. H. G. *n*. P. G. **mengə** (N. H. G. *menge*, *lex.* N. E. *crowd*, *multitude*, cf. *among* < on *mang(e)* or on *gemang(e)*), O. H. G. *menigi*, *managi*; P. G. **bōnə**, pl. (N. H. G. *bohnen*, N. E. *beans*), cf. R. P. **bohn**, sg. (N.), O. H. G. *bōnūn*; P. G. **mēnə** (N. H. G. *meinen*, N. E. *mean*, *lex.* *think*), R. P. **meenə**, **meent** (Z.), **meensch** (K.), O. H. G. *meinen*.

Note 1.—P. G. *nn* medial represents :

(1) Original Germanic *nn* (cf. Br. Gr. §95). P. G. **brunnə** (N. H. G. *brunnen*, N. E. *burn*, *lex.* *spring*), O. H. G. *brunno*; P. G. **rinnə** (N. H. G. *rinnen*, N. E. *run*, *lex.* *leak*), R. P. **rinne** (M.), O. H. G. *rinnan*.

(2) N. H. G. *nd*, *nt* (< Germanic *nþ*, *nd*), by assimilation. P. G. **finnə** (N. H. G. *finden*, N. E. *find*), R. P. **gfunne** p. p. of **finne** (N.), O. H. G. *findan*; P. G. **binne** (N. H. G. *binden*, N. E. *bind*), cf. R. P. **kinner** (N.), O. H. G. *bindan*; P. G. **nunnər** (N. H. G. *hinunter*, cf. N. E. *under*), R. P. **nunner** (N.), O. H. G. *unter*, *under*; P. G. **annər** (N. H. G. *ander*, N. E. *other*), R. P. **anner** (N.), O. H. G. *andar*; P. G. **bennər** (N. H. G. *bänder*, N. E. *bands*, *lex.* *ribbons*).

3. Final *n* of inflexion is wanting in P. G., thus leaving *-ə* the

regular ending of the infinitive and weak forms of nominal declension. P. G. **guckə** (N. H. G. *gucken*, lex. N. E. *look*); P. G. **schtudirə** or **studirə** (N. H. G. *studiren*, N. E. *study*); P. G. **rechlə** or **rechnə** (N. H. G. *recheln*, *rechnen*, N. E. *reckon*).

P. G. *n* final represents flexional *n* (1) in pronominal forms. P. G. **ən**, **'n** (N. H. G. *ihn*); **den** (N. H. G. *den*, demonstrative); **'n** (N. H. G. *einen*).

(2) In certain verbal forms. P. G. **hen** (N. H. G. *haben* (pl. forms), cf. §7, 3; **bin** (N. H. G. *bin*).

Note 1.—P. G. *nn* final represents:

(1) Germanic *nn*. P. G. **dann** (N. H. G. *dann*, N. E. *then*), R. P. **dann**, O. H. G. *danne*; **wann** (N. H. G. *wann* and *wenn*, N. E. *when*), Westr. **wann** (Sch.), O. H. G. *wanne*.

(2) *n* of words introduced from other languages. P. G. **bəlūn** (N. H. G. *luftbalon*, N. E. *balloon*).

Note 1.—For forms like **gēnə**, **tūne**, cf. §16; and for nasalized vowels cf. §41.

### *Labials b, p, f.*

§30.—1. P. G. initial *b* represents:

(1) Germanic *b*, N. H. G. *b*. P. G. **binne** (cf. 29, 2 (2)); **buch** (N. H. G. *buch*, N. E. *book*); **bēs** (N. H. G. *bös*, lex. N. E. *angry*, *bad*); **bʀr** (N. H. G. *bahre*, N. E. *bier*, *barrow*); **bʀrd** (N. H. G. *bart*, N. E. *beard*); P. G. **bʀwoll** (N. H. G. *baumwolle*, lex. N. E. *cotton*); **beidəl** (N. H. G. *beutel*, lex. N. E. *bolt*, used to separate flour, cf. N. E. *boodle*).

(2) *b* of borrowed words. P. G. **bell** (N. E. *bell*, to ring a bell, N. H. G. *schelle*, *schellen*); P. G. **bədō** (Fr. *bateau*, lex. N. H. G. *kahn*, N. E. *small flat-boat*); P. G. **bens** (N. E. *pence*, lex. *cent*, *penny*, lex. N. H. G. *pfennig*), R. P. **penning**; P. G. **bēsəl** (cf. N. H. G. *base*, O. H. G. *basa*, lex. N. E. *aunty*).

(3) N. H. G. *þ* in many words, which often show a vacillation in pronunciation in P. G. P. G. **bembəl(ə)** (N. H. G. *pampeln*, *bammeln*, lex. N. E. “*bum*,” *loiter*, R. P. **bambeld**, 3 sg. (N.)); P. G. **baerik** (N. H. G. *perücke*, Fr. *peruque*, lex. N. E. *wig*); P. G. **brēdich** (N. H. G. *predigt*, lex. N. E. *sermon*); cf. vb. *preach*.

2. P. G. *b* medial represents:

(1) N. H. G. *þ* (for the most part in words of foreign origin. For original O. H. G. *þ*, which remains *þ* in P. G., cf. Br. Gr. §131). P. G. **bəbigəi** (N. H. G. *papagai*, N. E. *popinjay*, cf. O. Fr. *papegai*); P. G. **bəbir** (N. H. G. *papier*); P. G. **bəbbəl** (N. H. G. *pappel*, N. E. *poplar*).



Note 1.—P. G. **bēbēli** (lex. N. H. G. kindlein, N. E. baby) is perhaps to be explained as = **būbēli** (= N. H. G. bublein) rather than as a new formation from the N. E. *baby-li*, which would have become **bēbēli** in P. G.

Note 2.—An interesting case of medial *bb* is P. G. **ebbār**, **ebbās** (lex. N. H. G. jemand, etwas, lex. N. E. some one, something), R. P. **ebber**, **ebbes** (N.), Westr. **ebbes** (Sch.), M. H. G., O. H. G. *etewer*, *etewas*, *eteswer*, *eteswas*, cf. Goth. *aīþpan* and *hwas*, O. H. G. *hwer*. In P. G., as in R. P., this word has undergone labial **lenization** or **stopping**, i. e. passage from (slightly) voiced spirant to the sonant stop. The process must not be identified with that formulated in Verner's law, though having some resemblance to the latter, inasmuch as the change in P. G. and R. P. seems in no sense connected with Indo-European accent. The change is still going on in N. English in the speech of American negroes and children; cf. *neb(b)er*, *eb(b)er* for *never*, *ever*. The stages of the changes in P. G. and R. P., traced from the early forms, would be for the masculine as follows: Goth. *aīþpan* + *hwas* (not found in this collocation) > M. H. G., O. H. G. *etewer* (< \**ettehwer*, cf. O. H. G. *hwer*. Regular O. H. G. form would be \**eddewer*, cf. O. H. G. *ēddeswēr*, *ēddes waz* (in Kero's Glossary), Br. Gr. §295 *d*, W. Mhd. Gr. §314). In all these O. H. G. forms the aspirate *h* has disappeared). In N. H. G. this word is found only in the neuter and adverbial forms *etwas*, *etwa*. Thus *etwer* > R. P. and P. G. **ebber** (*w*, originally slightly sonant > sonant stop and finally assimilated the *t*).

3. P. G. *b* final represents :

(1) Germanic *b*, and N. H. G. *b* + vowel. P. G. **grüb** (N. H. G. grube, N. E. groove?), O. H. G. *gruoba*; P. G. **heb** (N. H. G. habe, N. E. have), R. P. **habb**; P. G. **schdʷb** (N. H. G. staub, lex. N. E. dust).

Note 1.—The combination *schd* occurs as initial, medial, and final. For *b* > *v* cf. §25, 2. As might be expected from what was said above, there is some confusion between *b* and *p*, inasmuch as both are voiceless consonants. This fact was noted by Haldeman P. D. §5).

*p*.

§31.—1. Initial *p* in P. G. represents:

(1) Germanic *p* (cf. Br. Gr. §131), N. H. G. *pf*. P. G. **pund** (N. H. G. pfund, N. E. pound), R. P. **pund** (N.), O. H. G. *pfunt*; P. G. **pluk(g)** (N. H. G. pflug, N. E. plough); cf. R. P.

**plog**, O. H. G. *pluag* (Otfried); P. G. **pēn** (N. H. G. *pfanne*, N. E. *pan*), R. P. **pann** (N.), O. H. G. *pfanna*; P. G. **pēd** (N. H. G. *pfad*, N. E. *path*), O. H. G. *pad* (Otfried); P. G. **perrē** (lex. N. H. G. *pfarrer*; cf. M. H. G. *pfarre*, lex. N. E. *parson*). R. P. **parre** (N.); P. G. **peif** (N. H. G. *pfeife*, N. E. *pipe*), R. P. **peif** (N.).

Note 1.—P. G. *p* occurs in the initial combinations *pl*, *pr*. P. G. **pletz**, or **blätz** (N. H. G. *platz*, N. E. *plot*, lex. *place*); P. G. **plæg(k)** (N. H. G. *plage*, N. E. *plague*).

(2) *p* in words recently introduced from other languages. P. G. **poscht-offis** (N. E. **post-office**, lex. N. H. G. *postamt*); P. G. **pudē** (lex. N. H. G. *knospen*, N. E. *buds*), would seem to be a new formation from N. E. *bud*; but cf. Dutch *bot*. The word is doubtless older than the English influence on R. P.

2. P. G. *p* medial occurs for the most part geminated, and represents:

(1) N. H. G. *pp* < older *p*. P. G. **pēp(p)əl** (N. H. G. *poppel*, N. E. *poplar*); P. G. **rēp(p)lā** (N. H. G. *rappeln*; cf. N. E. *rap*, lex. *clatter*). These words are written with one *p* by many P. G. writers. I have preferred to follow the N. H. G. norm.

(2) (a) N. H. G. *pf* < older Germanic *pp*. P. G. **kloppē** (N. H. G. *klopfen*, cf. N. E. *clap*, lex. *knock*).

(b) N. H. G. *pf* by West Germanic gemination of *p*. P. G. **scheppē** (N. H. G. *schöpfen*, lex. N. E. *dip*, *shovel*), O. H. G. *schepfen*, *skaphjan*, *skeffen* (cf. Br. Gr. §130).

3. Final *pp* in P. G. represents:

(1) N. H. G. *pp* followed by a vowel. P. G. **kēpp** (N. H. G. *kappe*, N. E. *cap*, lex. *bonnet*); P. G. **drupp** (N. H. G. *truppe*, N. E. *troop*).

(2) N. H. G. *pf*, Germanic *pp*. P. G. **kopp** (N. H. G. *kopf*, N. E. lex. *head*), R. P. **kopp** (N.), pl. **köbb** (N.), O. H. G. *choph*, *chupf*, cf. Sch. M. B. §618; P. G. **schdrupp** (N. H. G. *struppe*, lex. N. E. *hames-hook*); P. G. **schipp** (N. H. G. *schippe*, *schüppe*).

(3) N. E. *p*. P. G. **dzhump** (N. E. *jump*, lex. N. H. G. *springen*).

Note 1.—P. G. **schlep(p)** < N. E. **slop**, *swill*, used of an untidy woman. This seems to be introduced from English, notwithstanding the fact that it could be consistently explained as the etymological equivalent of N. H. G. *schlapp*, *schlappe*; cf. N. H. G. *schleppe*; cf. P. G. **schleppich**, N. H. G. *schlappig*, N. E. **sloppy**.

Note 2.—Under this head belong words which contain *m* + *p* (*pp*), N. H. G. *mpf*. In these cases P. G. and O. H. G. show the same stages of mutation (cf. Br. Gr. §131 *b*). P. G. **schdrump** (N. H. G. *strumpf*, lex. N. E. stocking), R. P. **schtrumbe** (pl.).

Note 3.—P. G. *p* corresponds sporadically to N. H. G. *f*. P. G. **schep** (N. H. G. *schief*; cf. §7, 6 (1)).

### *f*.

§32.—1. P. G. *f* initial represents :

(1) Germanic *f*, N. H. G. *f*. P. G. **fəra** (N. H. G. *fahren*, N. E. fare), R. P. **fahre**, O. H. G. *faran*; P. G. **fella** (N. H. G. *fallen*, N. E. fall), O. H. G. *fallan*; P. G. **frōga** (N. H. G. *fragen*), cf. §12, 3 (*a*); P. G. **fremm** (N. H. G. *fremd*, lex. N. E. strange), R. P. *fremd* (N.), Westr. **fremm** (Sch.), O. H. G. *framadi*.

Under this section belong compounds with the prefix **fər** and other forms written in N. H. G. with initial *v*.

(2) (*a*) *f* in words < N. E. P. G. **fərnis** (N. E. **furnace**, lex. N. H. G. *schmelzofen*); **fəerəwell** (N. E. **farewell**, lex. N. H. G. *lebe wohl*).

(*b*) *ph* in Greek and Latin and other words. P. G. **fərisēar** (N. H. G. *pharisäer*, N. E. *pharisee*).

2. P. G. medial *f* represents :

(1) Germanic *p*, N. H. G. *f*. P. G. **həufə** (N. H. G. *haufen*, N. E. heap), O. H. G. *hūfo*.

Note 1.—P. G. *ff* = N. H. G. *ff* < Germanic *p* by gemination and mutation. P. G. **leffəl** (N. H. G. *löffel*); P. G. **effentlich** (N. H. G. *öffentlich*); P. G. **effning** (N. H. G. *oeffnung*), cf. §13, 1, note 3.

Note 2.—P. G. *f* occurs sporadically for N. H. G. *p* in **səsa-frill** (N. H. G. *sassaparille*, N. E. *sarsaparilla*, in analogy with **səsafrəs**?).

Note 3.—P. G. **hefə** (N. H. G. *hefe*?, lex. *töpfe*, lex. N. E. pots, cf. A.-S. *haef*), O. H. G. *heffo*.

3. P. G. final *f* represents :

(1) (*a*) Germanic *p*, N. H. G. *f* (cf. Br. Gr. §132). P. G. **schlōf** (N. H. G. *schlaf*, N. E. sleep), R. P. **schlof** (N.), O. H. G. *slāf*; P. G. **rēf** (N. H. G. *reif*, N. E. ripe).

(*b*) N. H. G. *ff*. P. G. **pəf** (N. H. G. *pfaffe*, lex. N. E. priest, cf. pope).

*Dentals d, t (th).*

§33.—1. P. G. initial *d* represents :

(1) West Germanic *d* (Br. Gr. §162), N. H. G. *t*. P. G. **dʏg** (N. H. G. tag, N. E. day), R. P. **dag** (N.), Westr. *dah* (Sch.), O. H. G. *tac*(*g*); P. G. **dēl** (N. H. G. teil, cf. §8, 1 (*b*)); P. G. **dʏl** (N. H. G. thal, N. E. dale), Westr. **dal** (Sch.), O. H. G. *tal*.

Note 1.—Exceptions are foreign words, as **tēkt** (N. H. G. takt, lex. N. E. bar in music); **tēks** (N. E. tax, N. H. G. *taxe*, lex. steuer), R. P. **tax**; P. G. **termin** (N. H. G. termin, N. E. term, lex. limit), R. P. **termin** (N.); **tēlentə** (N. H. G. talente, N. E. talents).

Note 2.—P. G. occurs initially also in the combination *tr* side by side with *dr*, thus giving rise to double forms, as **drʏk**, **trʏg** (N. H. G. *trage*, N. E. drag, lex. carry, wear); P. G. **drēurə** and **trēurə** (N. H. G. trauern). For dzch cf. §38, 1.

2. Medial *d* in P. G. represents :

(1) Germanic *þ*, N. H. G. *d*. P. G. **odər** or **oddər** (N. H. G. oder, N. E. other, lex. or), R. P. **odder** (N.), O. H. G. *odor*; P. G. **schedə** (N. H. G. scheiden, lex. N. E. separate, divorce, cf. N. E. shed, sheath), O. H. G. *sceidan*; P. G. **eiʎvdə** (N. H. G. einladen, lex. N. E. invite), O. H. G. *ladōn*.

Note 1.—Germanic *d*, N. H. G. *tt*. P. G. **mud** (**d**) **ər** (N. H. G. mutter, N. E. mother), R. P. **modd'r** (N.), **mötter** (Sch.), O. H. G. *muotar*; P. G. **wed** (**d**) **ər** (N. H. G. wetter, N. E. weather), R. P. **wedder** (N.), O. H. G. *wētar* (cf. Br. Gr. §§163-4, an. 1).

3. Final *d* in P. G. represents occasionally :

(1) Germanic *d*, N. H. G. *t*. P. G. **mūd** (N. H. G. mut, N. E. mood), R. P. **muth** (N.), O. H. G. *muot*. This, however, gives rise to doublets, **mud** and **mut**, as *d* final and *t* final are easily confused.

(2) Germanic *þ* in rare cases. P. G. **mʏd** (N. H. G. magd, N. E. maid), R. P. **mahd** (N.), cf. M. H. G. *meit* (*maget*), O. H. G. *magad*, Goth. *māgaps*.

*t.*

§34.—1. P. G. *t* initial represents :

(1) N. H. G. in foreign words; cf. §33, 1 (1), note 1.

(2) In a few words represents older *t*. P. G. **turm** (N. H. G. turm, lex. N. E. tower), O. H. G. *turra*.

2. Medial *t* represents :

(1) Germanic *d*, N. H. G. *t*. P. G. **bəhitə** (N. H. G. behüten, cf. N. E. heed); P. G. **nēdich** (N. H. G. nōthig, N. E. needy,

lex. necessary). Here, too, double forms occur as in the case of *d*. P. G. **bid(d)ər**, **bit(t)er** (N. H. G. bitter, N. E. bitter).

(2) N. H. G. *t* + *z*. P. G. **hitz** (N. H. G. hitze, N. E. heat); P. G. **sitz** (N. H. G. sitz, N. E. seat); P. G. **dids** (Horn), **tit** (Rauch) (N. H. G. zitze, N. E. teat). For foreign words cf. note under §33, 1, (1).

3. Final *t* in P. G. represents :

(1) (a) Germanic *d*, N. H. G. **t**. P. G. **hūt** (N. H. G. hut, lex. N. E. hat); P. G. **haut** (N. H. G. haut, N. E. hide), R. P. **haut** (N.).

(b) N. H. G. *t* when following a consonant. P. G. **krikt** (N. H. G. kriegt); **kunscht** (M. H. G. hunst). There are many forms in *d*, however (cf. §33, 3 (1)), especially where a liquid precedes.

*th*.

§35.—In P. G., as in N. H. G., the *sound* *th* is to be found only in foreign words. Even these borrowed words are usually so far Germanized in pronunciation as to lose the spirant quality of the *th*. Thus Rauch, the most English of all the P. G. lexicographers, gives only the isolated word *theory* (= N. E. theory, N. H. G. theorie) under *t*. Orthographically *th* (*dh*) is of frequent occurrence, but is pronounced as simple *t* (*d*). In some localities, however, the pronunciation of this *dh* has at least a reminiscence of the aspirate as in N. E. daughter (cf. Br. Gr. §167 (b) (c), an. 1, 2); cf. Fisher, A. M. and K. Z.

*Gutturals g, k, ch (g).*

§36.—1. P. G. initial *g* represents :

(1) Germanic *g*, N. H. G. *g*. P. G. **gē**, **gēnə** (N. H. G. gehen, N. E. go), Westr. **geh** (Sch.), O. H. G. *gēn*, *gān*; P. G. **gēvə** (cf. §25, 2 (1)); P. G. **gift** (N. H. G. gift, lex. N. E. poison; cf. gift).

Note 1.—Initial consonantal combinations with *g* are *gl*, *gn*, *gr*. P. G. **glock** (N. H. G. glocke, lex. N. E. bell, cf. clock); P. G. **gnūd** (N. H. G. gnade, lex. N. E. grace); P. G. **grō** (N. H. G. grau, cf. §25, 3). Doublets occur, as **klock** and **glock**, **klick** and **glick**.

2. Medial *g* in P. G. represents :

(1) Germanic *g*, N. H. G. *g*, more strongly guttural in P. G. than in N. H. G. P. G. **səgə** (N. H. G. sagen, N. E. say), R. P.

*sache*, Westr. *sah*, *sahe* (Sch.), O. H. G. *sāgen*; P. G. **dr̥gə** (N. H. G. tragen, N. E. draw, lex. carry), O. H. G. *tragan*.

Note 1. For Germanic *g* (in P. G. generally pronounced palatal), cf. §24, 1, (2)); P. G. **moryə** (N. H. G. morgen; **b̥eryə** (N. H. G. berge).

(2) Germanic *h*, N. H. G. *g*. P. G. **schl̥gə** (N. H. G. schlagen, N. E. slay); cf. R. P. **schlage** (N.), O. H. G. *slahan*.

3. Final *g* in P. G. corresponds to Germanic *g*. P. G. **sv̥g** (N. H. G. sage, N. E. say), R. P. **sag**; P. G. **dv̥g** (N. H. G. tag, cf. §33, 1 (1)). This *g* is often pronounced as *k*; cf. §37, 3.

§37.—1. P. G. *k* initial represents:

(1) Germanic *k*, N. H. G. *k*. P. G. **k̥v̥fə** (N. H. G. kaufen, lex. N. E. buy, cf. adj. cheap and noun chapman), R. P., cf. **ver-kaaft** (N.), O. H. G. *choufōn*; P. G. **korn** (N. H. G. korn, N. E. corn); P. G. **kennə** (N. H. G. können, N. E. can); P. G. **koch** (N. H. G. koch, N. E. cook).

(2) N. E. *c* in borrowed words. P. G. **kolik** (lex. N. H. G. magenkrampf, N. E. colic); P. G. **koppchə** (N. E. cup, lex. N. H. G. tasse), a curious compound formed on the N. E. cup+P. German diminutive *-chə*; P. G. **kr̥eier** (N. E. crier, lex. N. H. G. ausrufer); P. G. **krunər** (N. E. coroner, lex. N. H. G. todtenbeschauer).

Note 1.—Consonantal combinations with *k* are *kl*, *kn*, *kr*, *kw*. P. G. **kloppə** (N. H. G. kloppen, N. E. clap); P. G. **knī** (N. H. G. knie, N. E. knee); P. G. **kr̥eft** (N. H. G. kraft, N. E. craft, lex. power); P. G. **kwēt** (N. E. quoit, vulgarly pronounced **quat**, lex. N. H. G. wurfscheibe).

2. Medial *k* (*ck*) in P. G. corresponds to Germanic *k* (*ck*), N. H. G. *ck*. P. G. **kn̥eckə** (N. H. G. knacken, N. E. knock, lex. crack); P. G. **rickə** (N. H. G. rücken, cf. §9, 2); P. G. **schdeckə** (N. H. G. stecken, N. E. stick.)

Note 1.—Simple *k* (not geminated) occurs in combination with a nasal or liquid. P. G. **denkə** (N. H. G. danken, N. E. thank); P. G. **melkə** (N. H. G. melken, N. E. milk).

3. Final *k* corresponds to Germanic *g* or *k* alone, and in combination with nasal or liquid. P. G. **schd̥ek** (N. H. G. steg, lex. treppe, lex. N. E. stairs, foot-bridge), R. P. **schteeg** (N.), O. H. G. *st̥ēc*; P. G. **schd̥erk** (N. H. G. stärke, lex. N. E. strength, cf. starch); P. G. **schbūk** (N. H. G. spuk, N. E. lex. hobgoblin); P. G. **schbunk** and adj. **schbunkich** (< N. E. **spunk**, **spunky**, lex. N. H. G. heissblütig).

*ch.*

§38.—1. P. G. *ch* initial is wanting, as in N. H. G., except in a few foreign words. Even here it is pronounced regularly as *h*, unless the word be borrowed from N. English. P. G. **kōr** (N. H. G. chor, N. E. choir), but cf. P. G. **dzcheck** (N. E. **check**, lex. N. H. G. *wechsel*); **dzchīf** (N. E. chief, lex. N. H. G. *haupt*). These all belong under §33, though often written as in English.

2. Medial *ch* in P. G. represents :

(1) The older spirant *h* in a few words. P. G. **hochi schul** (N. H. G. *hohe schule*, *hochschule*, N. E. high school); P. G. **hēchər** (N. H. G. *höher*, N. E. higher); P. G. **nechər** (N. H. G. *näher*, N. E. "nigher," lex. nearer).

(2) Germanic *h* (*c*), N. H. G. *ch*. P. G. **suchə** (N. H. G. *suchen*, N. E. seek), O. H. G. *suohhan* (cf. Br. Gr. §150 ff.).

3. Final *ch* occurs in P. G. much more frequently than in N. H. G. because *g* of the adjectival ending is pronounced regularly *ch*.

Final *ch* represents :

(1) Germanic *h*, N. H. G. *ch*. P. G. **dēgich** (N. H. G. *teigich*, N. E. doughy); P. G. **mēgich** (N. H. G. *möglich*, lex. N. E. possible); P. G. **tēgich** (N. H. G. *täglich*, N. E. daily).

(2) Germanic *g*, N. H. G. *g*. P. G. **kēnich** (N. H. G. *könig*, N. E. king), O. H. G. *chunig*; P. G. **heifich** (N. H. G. *häufig*, lex. N. E. frequently); P. G. **erich** (cf. §19, 2).

Note 1.—P. G. *ch*, both medial and final, represents Germanic *h* where the latter became *ch* in N. H. G. P. G. **lēchə** (N. H. G. *lachen*, N. E. laugh), O. H. G. *lahhen*, *lahhan*; P. G. **nēcht** (N. H. G. *nacht*, cf. §4 (1)).

*h.*

§39.—The letter *h* is aspirate in P. G. and is written in the present work only where pronounced. Some writers, however, follow the earlier N. H. G. orthography and write it as a sign of length. In P. G. *h* is pronounced only when initial either of a word or of a syllable, and represents Germanic *h*. P. G. **hūt** (N. H. G. *hut*, N. E. hood, cf. §14 (1)); P. G. **hend** (N. H. G. *hand*, N. E. hand, cf. §4 (1)). For Germanic *h* before vowels cf. Br. Gr. §153; for Germanic *h* which became P. G. *ch* cf. §38, 2, (1), note 1.

*s.*

§40.—P. G. *s* is the voiceless spirant in all positions. P. G. **sēl** (N. H. G. *seele*, N. E. soul, cf. §8, 1); P. G. **hēssə** (N. H. G.

heissen, N. E. hight); P. G. **nʷs** (N. H. G. nase, N. E. nose). P. G. *s* occurs in the following consonantal combinations: *sch*, *schp*, *scht*, corresponding to N. H. G. and Germanic *sp*, *st*. P. G. **schtē** (N. H. G. stein, N. E. stone); P. G. **schprōch** (N. H. G. sprache). This pronunciation of Germanic *sp*, *st* is extended to these combinations in all positions in P. G. and not restricted to the initial syllable as in N. H. G.; cf. P. G. **werscht** (N. H. G. wurst); **reschbəl** (N. H. G. raschel, cf. Brandt, §24).

### *Nasalized Vowels.*

§41.—The question of nasality in German dialects is too intricate to be discussed at length in this paper. It will be possible here only to outline the subject to form a basis for the treatment of the phenomenon in P. G. Schmeller and Weinhold mention various phases of this phenomenon: (1) *medial nasalization* heard east of the Lech, *bā~inə*, *so~nne* (Sch. M. B. §548 ff., 554, 566-7, cf. W. A. G. §§8, 200-201); (2) *final nasalization* (Sch. M. B. 554, 581-5; W. B. G. §§169-71. Of this there are two developments: (a) from a vowel combination, *zu~*, *bey~*, *brey~*, *g'nau~*; (b) from consonant element (usually after omission of the consonant: *no~* (= noch), *wei~rauch* (= weihrauch).

In P. G. we find *final nasalization* the most strongly represented. This takes place in the stem in flexional elements. In P. G. the vocalic elements assume nasality without changing their vocalic quality (cf. H. §4).

P. G. occurs *medially* only in cases where the nasalized syllable is separable. Ex.: P. G. *p~fengə* (N. H. G. anfangen, lex. N. E. begin), and may hence be considered as one phase of *final nasalization*, of which the following are examples:

(1) Nasalization caused by *n*. P. G. **schē** (N. H. G. schön, lex. N. E. beautiful), R. P. **schoñ** (N. Z.), Westr. **scho'** (Sch.); P. G. **schtē** (N. H. G. stein, N. E. stone), R. P. **schteen** (N.); P. G. **hī** (N. H. G. hin, lex. N. E. hence); P. G. **gē** (N. H. G. gehn, N. E. go) is sometimes heard for **gēnə**. So also **schte** for **schtenə**.

(2) Nasalization caused by other consonants. (a) by *ch*. P. P. **no~** (N. H. G. nach, lex. N. E. after) is heard instead of the more regular form **noch**. Fisher, P. D. G. and K. Z., Horn, and Rauch have regularly *noch*, if it occurs alone.



## IV.

## INFLECTION.

## I. Declension.

1. *Nouns*.

## A. Strong (or vocalic) declension.

(a) *a*-declension.§42.—*a*-stems :

	Masculine.		Neuter.
Sg. N.	dȝg	wert	hols
G.	(dȝgs) <sup>1</sup>	(werts) <sup>1</sup>	(hols) <sup>1</sup>
D.	dȝg	wert	hols
A.	dȝg	wert	hols
Pl. N.	dȝg(ə)	wertə	helsər
G.	(dȝg(ə)) <sup>1</sup>	(werts) <sup>1</sup>	(helsər) <sup>1</sup>
D.	dȝg(ə)	wertə	helsər
A.	dȝg(ə)	wertə	helsər

Note 1.—For the corresponding P. G. equivalent of the gen. cf. Syntax, §80, and Dative, §89, 1; for infin. as possible case of gen. cf. §92.

Note 2.—In P. G. *wert* (like O. H. G. masculines, not neuters) has only the ending -ə in the plural, while in N. H. G. it has gone over to the class of the *a*-declension, which forms the plural with -er (< O. H. G. -ir, cf. Br. Gr. §197). Here belongs also the plural *hverzər* (sg. *hærz*) which belonged originally to the consonant declension, as is still the case in the pl. in N. H. G. (cf. Br. Gr. §221). For plurals in -s cf. English Mixture.

§43.—*Diminutive neuter plurals*. Diminutives in -chə (= N. H. G. *chen* < O. H. G. -ich + in, cf. Brandt, §510) occur but rarely in York and Lancaster counties, while in Berks and Lehigh they are quite frequent and form the plural in -ər, as for

<sup>1</sup> The gen. forms are found only in following:

- (1) In poetry. *meines Lebens Sunn*.
- (2) In compounds: *hunnshols*, *frēdenszeitə*.
- (3) In adverbs: *willens*, *moryəts*, *ȝvəts*.
- (4) In possessive construction both with and without (generally without) the noun: *ens Brēuns*, *ens dȝdis Hēus*.

example *schwänzchər*, *endchər*, *bärtchər* (Keller, Kal. 25). The regular P. G. diminutive suffix is *-li* (= N. H. G. *lein*, cf. Br. Gr. §195, an. 3), forming plural in *-len*. Ex.: *ketzli* (sg.), *ketzlen* (pl.) (Horne); *schetzli*, *sehetzlen*. This is remarkable as the only occurrence of flexional *n* in P. G. nouns.

§44.—*ja*-stems :

	Masculine.		Neuter.
Sg. N.	wēzə	rick	end
D.	wēzə	rick	end
A.	wēzə	rick	end
Pl. N.		rick(ə)	end(ə)
D.		rick(ə)	end(ə)
A.		rick(ə)	end(ə)

Note.—The *j* has disappeared after having effected umlaut as in N. H. G. This umlaut has taken place also in denominatives, as *fischər* (< *fiskari* O. H. G.).

§45.—*wa*-stems :

	Masculine.	Neuter.
Sg. N.	schnē	knī
D.	schnē	knī
A.	schnē	knī
Pl. N.	schnē	knī
D.	schnē	knī
A.	schnē	knī

Note.—Here the tendency of the language to contract asserts itself. This process of dropping the *o* (*u*), which had begun as early as the 9th century (cf. Br. Gr. §204, a. 1), has obliterated almost all traces of the *wa*-declension. It remains as hiatus, however, in the declension of the adjectives belonging originally to this class of stems; cf. *blō*, *blōər* (N. H. G. *blau*, *blauer*).

(*b*) *δ*-declension.

§46.—Pure *δ*-stems, all feminine :

Sg. N.	ēr
D.	ēr
A.	ēr
Pl. N.	ērə
D.	ērə
A.	ērə

Note.—For the *b* and *v* of forms like *fvrəvə* (pl. of *fvrəb*) cf. §25, 2; §30, 3, and note 1. While in Gothic (Br. Got. Gr. §56) the medial voiced spirant became voiceless when final, and in M. H. G. it was dropped on becoming final, P. G. retains it as a media.

§47.—*jô*-stems :

Sg. N.	sind (or sinn) = N. H. G. sünde
D.	sind
A.	sind
Pl. N.	sində
D.	sində
A.	sində

Note.—Derivatives with the suffix *-in* (< injô-), like *sind*, have lost all trace of *-jô*, and are declined as the pure *ô*-stems.

§48.—Abstracts originally in *-i* :

Sg. N.	meng	Pl. mengə
D.	meng	mengə
A.	meng	mengə

Note 1.—Forms in *-ung* have in some cases replaced the older forms in *-i*, as *difung* for *dif* (= N. H. G. tiefe).

(c) The *i*-declension.

## §49.

Sg. N.	gësch	füss (cf. §50)	mëus
D.	gësch	füss	mëus
A.	gësch	fuss	mëus
Pl. N.	gësch(ə)	fiss leit (< luiti, O. H. G.)	meis
D.	gësch(ə)	fiss leit	meis
A.	gësch(ə)	fiss leit	meis

Note 1.—Forms like *mëus*, *svu*, *gvns* belonged formerly to the consonant declension, but since O. H. G. times have been declined as *i*-stems (cf. Br. Gr. §219, an. 1).

Note 2.—In P. G. as in N. H. G. some nouns take the umlaut and drop the original pl. ending *-e* (*-i*, O. H. G.), as *eppel* (*ebbəl*, Horne), N. H. G. äpfel (< O. H. G. ephili, cf. Br. Gr. §216-217). This dropping of the final *-e* (< O. H. G. *i*) of declension extends to the greater number of the nouns belonging to the *i*-declension. Ex.: sg. *nëscht*, pl. *nescht*; sg. *nöcht*, pl. *necht*; sg. *bëm*, pl. *bēm*; sg. *schdock*, pl. *schdeck*. Plurals in *-ə* are few.

(d) The *u*-declension.

§50.—In O. H. G. only traces of the *u*-declension remained (cf. Br. Gr. §228 ff.) In P. G. as in O. H. G. and N. H. G. the masculine *fuoz* (cf. Br. Gr. §229, a. 2) and feminine *hünt* (cf. Br. Gr. §231) are declined according to *i*-declension. The N. H. G. *vorhanden*, survival of the original *u*-declension dative, does not occur regularly in P. G. Used "sparingly" (Horne).

§51.—(1) Words expressing relationship, or *r*-stems, are declined in P. G. as in N. H. G. : *Fëtär* (n. d. a. sg.), *fëtär* (n. d. a. pl.).

## (2) Participial stems.

Words which were originally participles, as *freind*, *feind*, have no special declension, but form their pl. in *-e* like nouns of the *a*-declension.

(3) Isolated stems are declined as in N. H. G. *mōnn* (n. d. a. sg.), *mennər* (n. d. a. pl.).

B. Weak (*n* or consonant) declension.

§52.—This declension shows no change in the singular, and adds *-ə* in the plural for all cases.

	Masculine.		Feminine.	Neuter.	
Sg. N.	<i>hʊnə</i>	<i>mensch</i>	<i>zung</i>	<i>ʋg</i>	<i>ōr</i>
D.	<i>hʊnə</i>	<i>mensch</i>	<i>zung</i>	<i>ʋg</i>	<i>ōr</i>
A.	<i>hʊnə</i>	<i>mensch</i>	<i>zung</i>	<i>ʋg</i>	<i>ōr</i>
Pl. N. (G.) D. A.	<i>hʊnə</i>	<i>menschə</i>	<i>zungə</i>	<i>ʋgə</i>	<i>ōrə</i>

Note 1.—*Hverz* in the plural has gone over to the strong declension, and forms its plural in *-ər*, in analogy with *-ər* plurals from old *os*-stems (cf. Brandt, §431). This is not to be understood as indicating an increase of *-ər* plurals in P. G. In the case of *wvrt*, P. G. unlike N. H. G., has but one plural ending in *-ə*, thus showing conservative tendency. *Herzə*, the weak plural, is also in use.

Note 2.—The genitive form of the weak nouns occurs only in compounds, as for example *ʋgəheidəl* (= N. H. G. *staar*), *menschəfreind* (= N. H. G. *menschenfreund*).

## 2. Article.

§53.—1. Indefinite. 2. Definite.

	Mas.	Singular. Fem.	Neut.		Mas.	Singular. Fem.	Neut.	Plural. M. F. N.
N.	<i>ən, (ə)</i>	<i>ən, (ə)</i>	<i>ən, (ə)</i>		<i>dər</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>əs</i>	<i>dī</i>
D.	<i>əmə</i>	<i>ərə</i>	<i>əmə</i>		<i>əm</i>	<i>der, (dər)</i>	<i>əm</i>	<i>de, (d)</i>
A.	<i>ən, (ə)</i>	<i>ən, (ə)</i>	<i>ən, (ə)</i>		<i>dər, (den)</i>	<i>dī</i>	<i>əs</i>	<i>dī</i>

Note 1.—For the genitive the article with the possessive pronoun is employed; ex.: *əm mōnn sei hūt* = N. H. G. *der hut des mannes*; *dər muddər ır buch* = N. H. G. *das buch der mutter*.

Note 2.—In the gen. and dat. pl. of the definite article the forms *de* and *d'* are written. Where in the printed literature *den* is found it may be ascribed to N. H. German influence. *Den* occurs frequently as acc. sing. mas., though *dər* is the regular form. In the phrase *den mōryə*, *den* is to be regarded as the demonstrative (= N. H. G. *diesen morgen*), cf. §61.

Note 3.—The form *ə* is heard in the unaccented positions and used very frequently for both mas. and neut. nom. and acc. This

unaccented form is sometimes employed also for the feminine and dative, thus breaking down utterly the flexional forms of the dialect.

### 3. *Adjective.*

#### A. Strong declension.

§54.

	Mas.	Singular. Fem.	Neut.	Plural. M. F. N.
N.	gūtər	gūti(ə)	gūt	gūti(ə)
D.	gūtəm	gūtər	gūtəm	gūtə
A.	gūtər	gūti(ə)	gūt	guti(ə)

Note 1.—This near approach to the *i*-sound in the n. and a. sg. fem. and pl. would seem to be an intermediate form between O. H. G. *iu* and N. H. G. *e* (cf. M. H. G. *iu* = *ü*).

#### B. Weak declension.

§55.

	Mas.	Singular. Fem.	Neut.	Plural. M. F. N.
N.	dər gūt (mënn)	dī gūt (fr̥p)	(d)əs gūt (kind)	dī gutə
G. {	dem gūtə (mënn)	der gūtə (fr̥p)	dem gūtə (kind)	de gutə (leit)
	sei~	ir	sei	ir
D.	dem gūtə (mënn)	der gutə (fr̥p)	dem gutə (kind)	de (də) gutə
A.	dər (de) gut(ə) (mënn)	dī gut(ə) fr̥p	(d)əs gut(ə) (kind)	dī gutə

Note 2.—Participles when used attributively follow the declension of adjectives in same position. Only the past participle is in common use in P. G.

Note 1.—In the mixed declension the strong form of the adjective occurs where the preceding form is uninflected; ex.: *ən gūtər mōnn*, but *ēnər vltə fr̥p* (dat.)

#### C. Comparison of adjectives.

##### (1). Regular comparison.

§56.—(a) In P. G. the comparative and superlative are formed regularly by suffixing *-ər* (O. H. G. *-ōr*) and *-(e)scht* (O. H. G. *-ōst*) respectively to the stem; ex.: pos. *reich*, com. *reichər*, sup. *reichscht*.

Words like *schē~* whose stem ends in a nasal immediately preceded by a vowel drop the nasal in the uninflected form of the positive, but add it in the comparative and superlative; ex.: *schē~*, comp. *schēnər* (*e* short), sup. *schentscht*. (Note that the stem vowel becomes short in the comp. and sup. forms of this word.)

(b) Certain adjectives in P. G., as in N. H. G., take the *i*-umlaut in comp. and sup. (O. H. G. endings *-ir*, *-ist*); ex.: *gross*, comp. *gressər*, *gresscht*; *vlt*, comp. *eltər*, sup. *eltscht*.

## (2). Irregular comparison.

§57.

gūt,	comp. besser,	sup. bescht.
vīl,	mē (mēnār)	mēnscht.
hōch,	hēchər, <sup>1</sup>	hēchsch.
nṽ(h),	nēchər, <sup>1</sup>	nēchsch.

There is some irregularity in the quantity of the vowel in *mēnār* and *mensch*. Horne, for example, writes *mēnār*, but *mensch* (*e* short), which seems to show a tendency to shorten long-stem syllables, as in the case of *schenār*, etc. (cf. §56).

## 4. Numerals.

## A. Cardinals.

§58.—*Ēns*, *zwē*, *drei*, *fīr*, *fīnf* (*fīnif*), *sex* (cf. Br. Gr. §271), *sivə*, *vcht*, *nein*, *zēn*, R. (*zē*, H.), *elf* (*eləf*), *zwelf* (*zweləf*), *dreizen* (or *dreize*), *fverzēn*, *foofzēn*, *sexzēn*, *siwəzēn*, *vchtzēn*, *neinzen*, *zwvnsich*, *ēnunnzwvnsich*, etc., *dreisich*, *fverzich*, etc., *hunnərt*, *dousend*, *million*.

Note 1.—The form *fīr* occurs only when used as a separate word; in compounds it follows the regular phonetic law of vowel changes before *r* (cf. §17, 3) and  $\text{> } ae$ .

Note 2.—*Zēn* is put first in order because it is the full form, though *zē* with but slight nasality is perhaps of more frequent occurrence.

Note 3.—*Ēn* (*ē*) in P. G., as in N. H. G., is declined strong, *ēnər*, *ēni*, *ēns*, when standing in the pronominal relation; ex.: *zwē kep sin bessər vs ēnər*, *wvnn ṽ ēnər ən grvutkopp is* (H. 36, 101). (For the use of *ēns*, *dər ēnd*, etc., cf. Pronouns.) In P. G. the cardinals up to *zwelf* are declinable when used in the pronominal relation. The plural ending is *-e*.

## B. Ordinals.

§59.—*dritt* ( $\text{< } drittio$  O. H. G.), *ersch*, *zwet(t)*, *drit(t)*, *fært*, *fīft*, *sext*, *sivət*, *acht*, *neint*, *zēnt*, *elft*, *zwelft*, *dreizēnt*, *fverzēnt*, *fūfzēnt*, *sexzēnt*, etc., *zwēnsichsch*, *dreisichsch*, etc.

Note 1.—The ordinals in P. G., as in N. H. G., are declined like adjectives.

## 5. Pronouns.

## A. Personal.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. §38, 2 (1) for treatment of the spirant.

## §60.

		First Person.	Second Person.	Third Person.
Singular.	N.	ich	dū	aer (ər), sī, es (əs)
	G.	mei~	dei~	sei~, irə, sei~
	D.	mīr (mər)	dīr (dər) <sup>1</sup>	īm(m), īr (īrə), īm(m)
	A.	mich	dich	īn(n), sī, es (əs)
Plural.	N.	mīr (mər)	īr (ər, dīr, dər)	sī
	G.	unsər	eir (eīər)	irə
	D.	uns	eich (ich)	īnə (ənə)
	A.	uns	eich	sī

Note 1.—The genitive forms are inflected like the indefinite article, when limiting a noun.

Note 2.—The form *mīr* (mər) is regularly used for the nom. pl.; *dīr* (dər), on the other hand, is not so frequent as *īr* (ər), cf. §83.

B. Demonstrative *dver* = this, *sel* = that.

## §61.

	Mas.	Singular. Fem.	Neut.	Plural. M. F. N.
N.	dver	dī	des	dī
G.	(dem sei~)	(dverə īr)	(dem sei~)	(denə irə)
D.	dem	dverə	dem	denə
A.	den	dī	des	dī
N.	selər	seli	sel	seli
G.	(seləm sei~)	(selər irə)	(seləm sei~)	(selə irə)
D.	seləm	selər	seləm	selə
A.	selər	seli	sel	seli

Note 1.—Mark that the peculiar form *ve* in nom. mas. and gen. and dat. sing. is due to the influence of the *r* (cf. §17, 3). It may be regarded as a survival of older forms (cf. O. H. G. *dër*, *dëra*, etc., Br. Gr. §287).

Note 2.—The form *des* has been explained as a genitive used for the nominative. This is quite contrary to the spirit of the P. G., which regularly avoids genitive forms. If any more than a natural palatalization of *a* before *s*, it would be best explained as analogical with the forms *dver* (O. H. G. *dër*), *dem*, *den*. For confusing *das* and *es* in P. G., which has *əs* for both, cf. Hald. pp. 35-36.

Note 3.—*Sel* is a word of much disputed origin. At least three explanations have been suggested: (1) that it is the Provençal *cel*, Fr. *celui*, etc.; (2) that it is from the German *dasselbe* or *selbiger* or *selber* (this last is preserved in P. G. in the form of *selvər(t)*); (3) that it is the N. H. German *solch*. Haldeman

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sch. M. B. §717.

explained it to be = *selbig*, and regarded its Alsatian form *tzel* as = *dasselbe* (cf. Hald. p. 35). But No. 3, the explanation accepted by Fischer and others, seems to be the correct one. P. G. sel < O. H. G. *solih* through the intermediate stages \**selich*, \**selch*. Cf. §26, 3 (1)(b); cf. also *wel* (< O. H. G. *wëlich*).

### C. (1) Interrogative pronoun.

§62.

	Mas. and Fem.	Neut.
Sing. and Plural.	N. <i>wæ̃r</i>	<i>wes</i> (indeclinable).
	G. ( <i>wem sei</i> ~)	
	D. <i>wem</i>	
	A. <i>wen</i>	

### (2) Interrogative pronominal adjective.

	Mas.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing. N.	<i>welər</i>	<i>weli</i>	<i>wel</i>
	G. ( <i>weləm sei</i> ~)	( <i>welərə ir</i> )	( <i>weləm sei</i> ~)
	D. <i>weləm</i>	<i>welər</i>	<i>weləm</i>
	A. <i>welər</i>	<i>weli</i>	<i>wel</i>
Plur. M. F. N.	<i>weli</i>		
	( <i>welə ir</i> )		
	<i>welə</i>		
	<i>weli</i>		

Note 1.—For the origin of this form *wel*, etc., cf. §26, 3 (1) (b), and 61, note 3.

### D. Indefinites.

§63.

Sing.	<i>mər</i> (= man, einer)
	<i>sich</i>
	<i>ēm, əm</i> (= einem)

Note 1.—This indefinite *mər* (= N. H. G. man) can be distinguished from the *mər* (= N. H. G. wir) by the fact that the former requires the 3d sg., the latter the plural of the verb.

The form *əm* seems to be a dative used for the accusative. Cf. F. A. Z. 107:

*Dər wei~, der hot'm schlēfrich gəmwcht,*

*Dər seidar* [= N. H. G. *apfelwein*] *hot'm ufgəwcht.*

*Jedar, jedə, jedəs*, each, every, is declined like an adjective. In the mixed declension the nom. mas. often drops the flexional *r*: *ʒn schmidt-schop hət ən jedə mwmm* (F. K. 7).

*Enich*, any, is declined according to the strong declension. It is often used with *ebbər* in the sense of 'anything whatever.'

*Ebbər, ebbəs*, anything, something (N. H. G. etwas), is used in the mas. and neut. only.



*All, viel, monich, wenig*, are inflected and used as in N. H. G. They may be used attributively and remain uninflected, as *fīl jōr(ə)* (= N. H. G. viele jahre). *Jemand* and *nīmand* are regularly uninflected.

### IIa. Conjugation.

§64.—The P. G. verb has the following forms:

1. Two voices: active and passive.
2. Four moods: indicative, subjunctive, conditional (cf. §66 (b), note 1), imperative. In reality the conditional belongs to the subjunctive, thus reducing the number to three.
3. Six tenses: present (imperfect), perfect, pluperfect, future, future perfect.
4. Three persons: first, second, third.
5. Two numbers: singular and plural.
6. The infinitive: present and perfect active, present and perfect passive.
7. The past participle. P. G. has no present participle.

§65.—Deviations from N. H. G. to be noted here are:

(1) P. G. employs regularly the perfect for the imperfect, except (*a*) in poetry (not frequent); (*b*) in the indicative of the auxiliary *sei*, to be, and (*c*) in the subjunctive of all auxiliaries including *dū(n)*.

(2) As a corollary of (1) the P. G. pluperfect is formed with the perfect participle and perfect (not the imperfect) as auxiliary.

(3) The passive forms with *sei* as auxiliary are used with the present passive force much as in English (or by the use of other forms of expression, as *man* + verb); while the form with *waerra* (werden) are felt to have a future force, and are denominated future by Horne (cf. H. p. 94).

(4) The imperfect subjunctive passive has the auxiliary between the two perfect participles in the transposed position. Ex.: *wenn ich geschlogē wwer werra* (H. p. 94) (= wenn ich geschlagen worden wäre).

Other differences occurring in the paradigm will be easily explained by the general laws of P. G. phonology.

P. G. has the three historical classes of verbs: *ablauting*, *reduplicating*, *weak*. The *i*-umlaut of the pres. sing. indicative is found only in a few verbs, the tendency being to employ unumlauted forms, perhaps in analogy with the plural.

§66.—1. Strong (ablauting). 2. Weak (not ablauting).

A. Active voice.

## (a) Indicative.

*Present.*

Sing.	1. ich nēm	(schløg)	such
	2. dū nēmscht	(schlechtst)	suchscht
	3. ʋer nēmt	(schlecht)	sucht
Plur.	1. mār nēmā	(schlөгә)	suchә
	2. ir nēmā (nēmt)	(schlөгә, schlagt)	suchә (sucht)
	3. sī nēmā	(schlөгә)	suchә

*Perfect.*

Sing.	1. ich hēb gənumə	Plur.	1. mār hen gənumə
	2. dū hēscht (höscht) gənumə		2. īr hen (dər hent) gənumə
	3. ʋer hət (hot) gənumə		3. sī hen gənumə

Same auxiliaries with p. p. gəsucht.

*Pluperfect.*

Sing.	1. ich hēb gənumā ghət	Plur.	1. mār hen gənumā ghət
	2. du hēscht gənumā ghət		2. ir hen (dər hent) gənumā ghət
	3. aer hət gənumā ghət		3. sī hen gənumā ghət

Same auxiliaries with p. p. gəsucht.

*Future.*

Sing.	1. ich wær nēmə	Plur.	1. mər wærrə-nēmə
	2. dū wærscht nēmə		2. ir wærrə nēmə
	3. ʳer wært nēmə		3. sī wærrə nēmə

Same with suchə instead of nēmə.

*Future Perfect.*

Sing.	1. ich ʋēr gənumā hēvā	Plur.	1. mār ʋēerrā gənumā hēvā
	2. dū ʋērscht gənumā hēvā		2. ir ʋēerrā gənumā hēvā
	3. ʋer ʋērt gənumā hēvā		3. sī ʋēerrā gənumā hēvā

Same with gəsucht instead of gənumā.

## (b) Subjunctive.

*Present.*

Sing.	1. ich nēm (schlөг) <sup>1</sup>	Plur.	1. mār nēmā (schlөгә)
	2. dū nēmscht (schlөгscht)		2. ir nēmā (schlөгә)
	3. ʋer nēmt (nēmә) (schlөгt)		3. sī nēmā (schlөгә)

*Pluperfect.*

Sing.	1. ich het gənumə	Plur.	1. mər hen gənumə
	2. du hetscht gənumə		2. ir hen gənumə
	3. ʋer het gənumə		3. si hen gənumə

\* <sup>1</sup>This is the subjunctive form as given by Horne. The simple subjunctive is supplanted in most cases by the modal auxiliaries and the verb *dū* (*dūnə*) used with the infinitive of the verb in question. Ex., *Ich dēt sel net nēmā* (= *Ich nähme das nicht*) (cf. §87). Also *nēmā* 3 sg. subj. (Horne).

\* *hete; Part. -ul, does exist in a few strong verbs.*  
*Er. "eb are dēt (hete*  
 " " gung?  
 " " (esent (heme)

Conditional mood (more correctly subjunctive of the auxiliary *dū*).

*Present.*

- Sing. 1. ich dēt nēmə  
2. dū dētscht nēmə  
3. ʋer dēt nēmə

- Plur. 1. mər dētə nēmə  
2. ir dētə nēmə  
3. sī dētə nēmə

Same auxiliary with *gəsucht*.

Note 1.—The imperfect conditional is the same as the pluperf. subj.

*Imperative.*

*Present.*

- |                                  |                            |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| Sing. 2. nēm, nēm dū             | such, such dū              |
| Plur. 2. nēmt, nēmt ir, nemən ir | sucht, sucht ir, suchən ir |

. (c) Infinitive mood.

*Present.*

- |         |          |
|---------|----------|
| zu nēmə | zu sūchə |
|---------|----------|

*Perfect.*

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| gənumə zu həvə | gəsücht zu həvə |
|----------------|-----------------|

*Participle.*

*Perfect.*

- |        |         |
|--------|---------|
| gənumə | gəsucht |
|--------|---------|

B. Passive voice.

(a) Indicative mood.

§67.

*Present.*

- |                                |                                    |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. ich bin gənumə        | Plur. 1. mər sin gənumə            |
| 2. dū bischt gənumə            | 2. ir sin, seid (dər, sint) gənumə |
| 3. ʋer is (isch, ischt) gənumə | 3. sī sin gənumə                   |

Same auxiliary with *gəsucht*.

*Imperfect.*

- |                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| Sing. 1. ich wər gənumə | Plur. 1. mər wərə gənumə |
| 2. dū wərscht gənumə    | 2. ir wərə gənumə        |
| 3. ʋer wər gənumə       | 3. sī wərə gənumə        |

Same with exchange of perf. participle.

*Perfect.*

- |                                      |                               |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Sing. 1. ich bin gənumə werrə        | Plur. 1. mər sin gənumə werrə |
| 2. dū bischt gənumə werrə            | 2. ir sin gənumə werrə        |
| 3. ʋer is (isch, ischt) gənumə werrə | 3. sī sin gənumə werrə        |

Same auxiliary with *gəsucht*.

*Pluperfect.*

Sing.	1. ich wpr gənumə gəwest	Plur.	1. mər wprə gənumə gəwest
	2. dū wprsch̥t gənumə gəwest		2. ir wprə gənumə gəwest
	3. ʋer wpr gənumə gəwest		3. sī wprə gənumə gəwest

Same with exchange of perf. participle.

*Future.*

Sing.	1. ich wʋer gənumə	Plur.	1. mər wʋerrə gənumə
	2. dū wʋersch̥t gənumə		2. ir wʋerrə gənumə
	3. ʋer wʋert gənumə		3. sī wʋerrə gənumə

Same auxiliary with gəsucht.

*Future Perfect.*

Sing.	1. ich wʋer gənumə wʋerrə	Plur.	1. mər wʋerrə gənumə wʋerrə
	2. dū wʋersch̥t gənumə wʋerrə		2. ir wʋerrə gənumə wʋerrə
	3. ʋer wʋert gənumə wʋerrə		3. sī wʋerrə gənumə wʋerrə

Same auxiliary with gəsucht.

## (b) Subjunctive and conditional.

*Present.*

Sing.	1. ich wʋer gənumə	Plur.	1. mər wʋerə gənumə
	2. dū wʋersch̥t gənumə		2. ir wʋerə gənumə
	3. ʋer wʋer gənumə		3. sī wʋerə gənumə

Same auxiliary with gəsucht.

*Imperfect.*

Sing.	1. ich wʋer gənumə wʋerrə	Plur.	1. mər wʋerə gənumə wʋerrə
	2. dū wʋersch̥t gənumə wʋerrə		2. ir wʋerə gənumə wʋerrə
	3. ʋer wʋer gənumə wʋerrə		3. sī wʋerə gənumə wʋerrə

Same auxiliary with gəsucht.

*Imperative.*

Sing.	2. wʋer gənumə	wʋer gəsucht
Plur.	2. wʋerən ir gənumə	wʋerən ir gəsucht

*Infinitive.**Present.*

gənumə zu sei~	gesucht zu sei~
----------------	-----------------

*Perfect.*

gənumə gəwest zu sei~	gesucht gəwest zu sei~
-----------------------	------------------------

## IIb. Tense-formation.

## A. Ablaut series.

§68.—P. G. has preserved intact the six series of ablauting verbs only in general outlines. As the imperfect is regularly replaced by the perfect, only the principal parts in actual use, the present and past participle, will be given here.

## I (a).

	<i>ei</i>	<i>i</i>
	beissə	gəbissə
	gleichə	gəglichə
	reissə	gəriissə
(b)	bleivə	gəblivə
	dreivə	gədrivə
	schreivə	gəschrivə

## II (a).

	<i>ī</i>	<i>o</i>
	flīgə	gəflōgə
	zīgə, zījə	gəzōgə
	schīssə	gəschossə
(b)	<i>ī</i>	<i>ō</i>
	bedrīgə	bedrōgə
	līgə	gəlōgə

III (a). Verbal stems ending in nasal combinations, *mm*, *nn* or *m*, *n* + a consonant:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
schwimmə	gəschwummə
binnə	gəbunnə
finnə	gəfunnə

(b) Verbal stems ending in a liquid combination, *l* or *r* + consonant:

<i>ē</i>	<i>o</i>
hēlfə	gəholfə
(wērfə)	(gəworfə)
schtērvə	gəschtorvə (gəschtervə)

IV (a). Verbs whose stems end in a single nasal or liquid:

<i>ē, ē, u</i>	<i>u, o</i>
nēmə	gənummə
schdēlə	gəschdolə
kumə	(gə)kumə
(fər hēlə)	(fər)holə
(schērvə)	gəschorə

(b) Verbal stems ending in *ch* (*hh* = Germanic *k*):

<i>ē</i>	<i>o</i>
brēchə	gəbrochə
schprēchə	gəschprochə

V (a). Verbal stems ending in other consonants than those included in III and IV:

	<i>ē, ē</i>	<i>ē, ē</i>
	essə	gessə
	gēvə	(gə)gēvə
	lēśə	gəlēsə
	wēvə	gəwēvə (F.)
(b)		

	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>
	sitzə	gəsessə

VI.

<i>ʒ, v</i>	<i>ʒ, v</i>
fʒrə	gəfʒrə
wəchsə	gəwəchsə

B. Reduplicating verbs.

§69.—Ia.

	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
	füllə	gəfüllə
	fengə	gəfungə
	həldə	gəhəldə
(b)		
	<i>ō</i> (< <i>ā</i> , cf. Br. Gr. §351)	<i>ō</i>
	schlōfə (= schlafen)	gəschlōfə
	rōtə (= raten)	gərōtə
	brōdə (= braten)	gəbrōdə
	lossə (læssə) (= lassen)	gəlossə (gəlæssə)
(c)		
	<i>ē</i> (O. H. G. <i>ei</i> )	<i>ē</i> (O. H. G. <i>ei</i> )
	hēsə (hæssə) (= heissen)	gəhēsə (gəhæssə)

IIa. Verbs with "dark" stem-vowel originally (Br. Gr. §353).

	<i>ʊ</i> (O. H. G. <i>au, ou</i> )	<i>o</i> (O. H. G. <i>ou</i> )
	lʊfə	gəlofə
(b)		
	<i>ū</i> (O. H. G. <i>uo</i> )	<i>ū</i> (O. H. G. <i>uo</i> )
	rūfə	gərūfə
(c)		
	<i>au</i>	<i>o</i>
	sʊufə (cf. §9, 2, note 2)	gəsəfə
	(O. H. G. <i>sāfan</i> , cf. Br. Gr. §334, a. 3.)	

C. Weak verbs.

§70.—Of the weak verbs little need be said. All differentiation into classes with the infinitive ending in *-jvn*, *-on*, *-ēn* as in O. H. G. has practically disappeared in P. G. Traces of the *-jvn* class may still be seen in those verbs which have the *i*-umlaut or gemination or both according to length of stem-vowel (cf. Br. Gr. §91 ff.).

Ex.: *deckə* (O. H. G. *decken* < Goth. \**þakjan*); *setzə* (O. H. G. *sezzen*, cf. Goth. *satjan*, cf. O. S. *satian*); *hērə* (O. H. G. *hōren* < *hōrjan*, cf. Goth. *hausjan*); *kissə* (O. H. G. *kussen*, cf. O. H. G. *kus*, O. S. *cus*, *cos*). The *-ōn* and *-ēn* classes have, like *-jōn*, become *-ə* by the levelling of endings of flexion. For this levelling in N. H. G. cf. Brandt, §454-5. Of the three verbs in N. H. G. belonging to the class having no connecting vowel in O. H. G. (Brandt, §454, 3) only *denkə* and *bringə* are in use in P. G. *Denkə*, like *brennə* (cf. Brandt, §455), forms its past participle with the present (i. e. umlauted) stem. Ex.: P. G. *gədenkt* (N. H. G. *gedacht*, O. H. G. *gidāht*); *gəbrennt* (N. H. G. *gebrannt*, O. H. G. *gibrennit*). *Bringə*, however, retains the older participial form *gəbrocht*. As there is practically no imperfect (cf. §65 (1)) in use in P. G., the conjugation of the weak verb will be found to agree with that of the strong, after eliminating the flexional umlaut and substituting the weak participle for the strong. Of course, that class of verbs which are conjugated with the auxiliary *sei* are exceptions and not included here.

The P. G. forms new verbs regularly with the infinitive ending *-ə*. Ex.: *exspectə* (< English *expect*); *separətə* (< English *separate*); *editə* (< English *edit*); *difendə* (< Eng. *defend*). P. G. has also a class of verbs from Romance roots forming their infinitive in *-irə* (N. H. G. *iren*). Ex.: *krāsirə* (< N. H. G. *karessieren*); *bulvirə* (N. H. G. *barbieren*).

#### D. Irregular verbs.

##### (a) Preterite-presents.

##### First ablaut-series.

§71.—1. Indic. 1 and 3 sg. *wēs*, 2 sg. *wēscht*, 1, 2, 3 pl. *wissə*; infin. *wissə*; past part. *gəwisst*.

In this verb the perf. part., as in the case of *denkə* (cf. §70), seems to be formed by analogy with the present infinitive.

##### Second ablaut-series.

1. Indic. 1 and 3 sg. *kōnn*, 2 sg. *kōnnscht*, 1, 2, 3 pl. *kennə*; subjunc. 1 and 3 sg. *kennt*, 2 sg. *kenntscht*; infin. *kennə*; past part. \**gəkonnt*, not used.

2. 1 and 3 sg. *durf*, 2 sg. *durfscht*, 1, 2, 3 pl. *dverfə*; infin. *dverfə*; past part. not used.

##### Third ablaut-series.

Indic. pres. 1 and 3 sg. *soll*, 2 sg. *sollscht*, 1 and 3 pl. *solle*, 2 pl. *sollt*; infin. *sollə*; subjunc. preterite 1 and 3 sg. *set*, 2 sg. *setscht*, pl. *setə*; perf. part. not in use.

*Fourth ablaut-series.*

Indic. pres. 1 and 3 sg. *m̄pg*, 2 sg. *m̄pgscht*, 1 and 3 pl. *m̄egə*; subjunc. pret. 1 and 3 sg. *mecht*, *mechtscht*; 1 and 3 pl. *mechtə* (2 pl. *mecht* or *mechtə*).

*Fifth ablaut-series.*

Indic. pres. 1 and 3 sg. *muss*, 2 sg. *muscht*, 1 and 3 pl. *missə*, 2 pl. *misst*; infin. *missə*.

Note 1.—The verb *ēgə* (Horne), *ēgnə* (Rauch and Harbaugh), defective in O. H. G. (cf. Br. Gr. §377) and supplemented by *habēn*, is weak in P. G. and used in the sense of 'to own.' From it has been formed also the substantive *ēgnər* (as in N. H. G. *eigner*). There seems to be a confusion of the two forms *ēgə* and *ēgnə* (*eigen* and *eignen*) in P. G.

## (b) Mi-verbs.

§72.—1. The verb *sei*~ in P. G., as in N. H. G., is used instead of O. H. G. *wēsan*, which is still represented in the N. H. G. by the strong perf. part. *gewesen*. P. G., however, uses regularly the weak form *gəwest*. True, *gəwesə* occurs in Wollenweber; but, like much of his P. G., it is too highly tinged with N. H. G.

## PARADIGM.

*Indicative Present.*

Sing. 1. ich bin	Plur. 1. mər sin
2. dū bischt	2. ir sin, or seid (H. 41), (dər sint)
3. ɐr is, isch (isch)	3. sī sin.

Note 1.—The form *is* may be considered the more general form, as it can be heard in almost every locality. It is the regular form, for example, in the writings of Rachel Bahn, of York County; of Zimmerman, of Reading, Berks County; of the Allentown "Kalenner" (poems by Keller); of Horne, of Allentown; of Rauch, of Mauch Chunk.

The form *isch* has been referred to the Mennonites and Dunkers, who were mainly of Swiss origin (cf. Halld. p. 41). This seems correct, as *isch* is most common in Lancaster and York counties, where the Ahmish, Mennonites and Dunkers constitute the larger portion of the German population. The form *ischt* I have found less common (cf. Wollenweber's *Gemälde*, S. 63, etc.; H. H. 66). It would seem to be the N. H. G. *ist* in the P. G. *garb*, *st* being regularly pronounced *scht*. It might be regarded as Suabian.

§73.—2. The verb *dūn* (R.), *dū* (H.).

*Indicative Present.*

Sing. 1. ich dū	Plur. 1. mər dūnə
2. dū dūscht	2. ir dūnə
3. ɐr dūt mər "	3. sī dūnə (dūn sī, H. H. 21, 18).



*Subjunctive Imperfect.*

Sing. 1.	ich dēt	Plur. 1.	mər dētə
2.	du dētscht	2.	ir dētə
3.	mər det	3.	sī dētə
	ver “		

*Past Participle.*

gədū

The verbs *gē* and *schtē*.§74.—3. *gē*.*Indicative Present.*

Sing. 1.	ich gē	Plur. 1.	mər genə (gea, H.)
2.	dū gēsht	2.	ir genə
3.	ver (mər) gēt	3.	sī genə

*Past Participle.*

gangə

Note 1.—The P. G. verb *schtwendə* (< Eng. stand = N. H. G. ertragen, aushalten) must not be confounded with this.

§75.—4. *schtē*.*Indicative Present.*

Sing. 1.	ich schtē	Plur. 1.	mər schtēnə
2.	dū schtēscht	2.	ir schtēnə
3.	ver (mər) schtēt	3.	sī schtēnə

*Past Participle.*

gəschtēnnə

§76.—5. The verb *sēnə* (*sēə* or *sē~*).*Indicative Present.*

Sing. 1.	ich sēn	Plur. 1.	mər sēnə
2.	dū sēnscht	2.	ir sēnə
3.	ver (mər) sēnt sicht (F), sīt	3.	sī sēnə

*Past Participle.*

gəsēnə

§77.—6. The verb *wollə* (*wellə*).*Indicative Present.*

Sing. 1.	ich will	Plur. 1.	mər wollə (wellə, R. H. 183)
2.	dū wit(t)	2.	ir wollt (wellt)
3.	ver (mər) will	3.	sī wollə (wellə)

*Imperfect.*

Sing. 1.	ich wot	Plur. 1.	mər wottə
2.	dū wotscht	2.	ir wottə
3.	ver (mər) wot	3.	sī wottə

## SYNTAX.

§78.—Pennsylvania German possesses a freedom of syntactical structure unknown to N. H. German, since it is permissible to use

either the accusative or nominative of nouns in the direct regimen of verbs and prepositions, while in N. H. G. only the accusative would be allowable. So too in points of idiomatic expression and vocabulary the P. German feels quite at liberty to employ the term or expression, whether English or German, which will be most intelligible to himself and his hearers or readers. As stated in the introduction (pp. 17-18), the extremes of this freedom are toward the predominance of N. H. G. speech and traditions on the one hand, and English language and life on the other. Thus in localities like Bethlehem, for example, where German schools have kept alive German culture, life and institutions, the speech of the Moravians, especially, is rigidly conservative and much freer from Anglicisms. In fact, till within the last forty or fifty years the Herrnhut community at Bethlehem and Nazareth was an exclusive German society. No more fitting example of the levelling power of language could be chosen than the town of Bethlehem itself, where the P. German, the vernacular of the neighboring country and towns, is fast making its way into the commercial and social centres of Moravian life, thus rapidly crowding out the literary German, forcing the educated classes to adopt English, and drawing the illiterate into the stream of the vulgar P. G. idiom. For further treatment, cf. English Mixture. The most characteristic features of P. G. syntax will be treated in this chapter.

## NOUN.

### *Nominative.*

§79.—1. The syntax of the nom. case, as subject of a verb, in P. G. agrees essentially with that of N. H. G. Ex.: *Dver vrām menn hæt kē hēmet* (R. H. 160).

The nominative case is used in exclamation. Ex.: *O du līwār kindhēts-krischdyg!* (H. H. 39). For nom. = acc. cf. §82.

### *Genitive.*

§80.—This case is rare in P. G. except (1) in compounds: *zeitsfrōg*, *nēchbārsweib*, *mēnnsleit*, *weibslēit*; (2) adverbs: *dvg̃s*, *nēchts*, *heitichdvg̃s* (or *heitichsdvg̃s*), *Lȳft ver sei~s wēgās widdər fort* (F. A. M. 53). *Heitichdvg̃s hæt's* [= N. H. G. giebt's] *schīr gȳr ke mād mē* (R. H. 168); (3) special idioms: *Juscht nēkscht ɛns dēdis hōus* (H. H. 1). *Ich muss nūf ɛns Brēuns gē* (R. H. 182). *Dī schqueirs offis wvr bōld (ball) voll mēschō* (W. 55).

*Wi schē, im einsomē gemit, wirbelt dī drossels owetlid!* (F. K. 136).

*ƿwær weil ƿer so wil sochē vn der kinnær krischlbym dūt* (H. H. 41).

**Odær's altē Beckær's alti kē, kē, kē** (H. 53).

*Bis meinēs lebēns' sunn fersinkt.*

*In schtillær dodēsnacht* (H. H. 8).

The place of the genitive in regular P. G. syntax is supplied by the prepositional construction. Ex.: *Fær dī sēlā fon unsær gegnær zu færgelschterē* (um die seelen unserer gegner zu verwirren), R. H. 219. For the gen. of possession cf. §81, 1.

### *Dative.*

§81.—The dative plays a very prominent rôle in P. G. syntax, and is used :

1. To denote possession. Ex.: *Ich bin deim dēdi sei~schpūk* (R. H. 220). *Ei, der Mrs. Jenkins irē dress is fon dem veri sēm shtick* (R. H. 198). *Un mār sīt [= N. H. G. sieht] grōd for sich dem eltē Dockt or Leisering sei~wossærheilvnschtolt* (W. 77). *Do klopts ēm pærrē seinær tīr [dēr]* [da klopts an der thüre des pferrers] (W. 44).

2. As the object of certain verbs, *gæfollē, gælingē*, etc., as in N. H. G. Ex.: *Hir hōwīch wos meim hærz gæfellt [gæfollt]* (H. H. 30). In the case of idioms borrowed from N. E. we find a nom. (=acc.) where the strict German idiom would require a dative: *Sō ēnær of kōrs [= N. H. G. natürlich] dū ich net sūtō [= N. H. G. gefallen]* (R. H. 218). So the P. G. *gleichē* (used in the sense of the English *like*, not that of *resemble* as in N. H. G.) governs the acc. (or nom. for acc.).

3. Of indirect object, as in N. H. G. *Der rīgæl [rīggæl] hot uns schpūss gæmvcht* (H. H. 31). It occurs as dat. of interest in examples like the following: *Un schlvgt ēm in dī bē~* [und fährt einem in die beine], F. A. Z. 107.

4. Where we should expect the accusative after verbs like *mēchē*. Ex.:

*Dær wei~, der hat ēm schlēfrig gæmvcht,*

*Dær seidær hat ēm uf gæwacht* (F. A. Z. 107).

This seems to be the P. German word for *einem*, used by analogy for *en* (=einen), and not the P. G. form of English *him*.

5. After prepositions (cf. §89).

<sup>1</sup> This is, strictly speaking, not P. G., but N. H. German. P. G. would regularly require *Bis dī sunn fon meim lēvē*, etc.

*Accusative.*

§82.—Professor Horne says ('M Horn sei~ Buch, p. 84): "All the cases are like the nominative." It must be remembered that this statement applies only to the *form* of the *noun*. In the direct verbal regimen (as the article or other gender-bearing word shows), either the nominative or accusative may be used. Ex.: *Wīr dər hēersch* (nom. = acc.) *g'schossə hot g'hvt* (H. p. 43). *Ja, ich sēn dər krischthēm* (nom. = acc.) *funklā* (H. H. p. 39). *D'nort is 'r imə sumpichə blots nunnər gsunkə bis vñ dər hēls* (nom. = acc.) (H. p. 42).

While in the unconscious idiom the nominative is the regular form, the accusative is nevertheless frequent. Ex.: *Doch sēn ich den krischthēm* (accusative) *funklā* (H. H. 41); *Mər hot kē rū de gēnsə dvg* (= N. H. G. den ganzen tag).

*Mər schvua ūf den schēnə wōld* (F. K. Z. 145),

'*S is fōr den schqueier kum(m)ə* (H. H. 71).

The prepositional regimen (cf. §89) seems to have conserved the accusative (or dative) form more generally than the verbal regimen. In the case of the pronouns, however, the oblique forms are employed with great regularity.

## PRONOUN.

§83.—The pronoun in P. G., as in English and French, has retained most of the older inflected forms. In use, however, there is some deviation from N. H. G.

1. *Personal pronouns, nom. case.* In addition to the regular forms corresponding to N. H. G., P. G. has *mər* (= N. H. G. *man*, when accompanied by a verb in the singular number; N. H. G. *wir*, when used with the plural form of the verb), *dər* (= N. H. G. *Ihr*, older form of address, for the present *Sie*).

*Dər hend's net gwisst; bis juscht vet wonst* [N. H. G. auf einmal]  
*Hend ir's gāgesst's wēr (wēr) mich.*<sup>1</sup>

*You did not know who it could be,*

*But all at once you guessed 'twas me* (R. H. 216-217, Witmer's poem).

*Ich glōb dər hōltə fon sellə.*

(Ich glaube sie haben solche vorräthig), R. H. 194.

The 2d pers. sg. of the pronoun is usually amalgamated with the ending of the verb, or perhaps omitted altogether, when

<sup>1</sup> This acc. for nom. is an Anglicism (cf. English, *it was me*).

the verb occupies the inverted position. *Dann kënnscht [=kënnscht du] mir [mər] fərleicht sɛgə, wo ich wōn?* (R. H.)

**Wēscht** doch, es gebt in deitsch kē lɐ [N. H. G. recht gesetzt].

**Loss** mir dī schpuchtə wɛk (H. H. 74).

2. *Genitive*.—The genitive of the personal pronoun is found in isolated constructions. *Unn unser ɛns is dort* (H. H. 62). *Do gebt ɐər um ən tɔlər net mēr ɔls unserēns um ɛn zent* (W. 33). *Unser* is here gen. plural.

In one important case the P. G., like R. P., has the gen. of the personal pronoun where the dative would be expected.

*Həscht du dei~ dēl? hɔwɪch mei~ dēl?*

*Dī ghērə mei~, dī dei~* (F. K. Z. 89).

Compare R. P. Hascht du dein dheel, haww ich mein dheel,

Die ghöre mein, die dein (N. 83).

Schmeller (M. B. §720) regards this construction as in analogy with the M. H. G. genitive-construction after  *hoeren*, and cites Niblung. 9053: *So; hört min, her Dietrich*. Cf. also Mart. 168: *Er hiez hören der martyr*.

3. *Dative*.—The syntax of the dative of the personal pronoun in P. G. agrees in the main with that of the same case in N. H. G. As indirect object:

*ɔər singt mər ɐ~ ən lidli sche~* (F. K. Z. 25).

*Wi mər sich denkə mɔg* (H. H. 71).

As object of verbs:

*Unn ich im helfə kann*

*Ich helf 'm unn fərleug 'm 's net* (F. K. Z. 33).

*ɔbər weil ɐər dɪr so gut bekum(m)t* [N. H. G. steht] *mɔgscht 'n b'holtə fər vɛht un ə hɔlvər* (R. H. 192).

For the dative with prepositions cf. §89, 1.

For dat. used as nom. cf. §83, 1.

4. *Accusative*.—The syntax of the accusative of the personal pronoun in P. G., as compared with N. H. G., differs from that of the latter in some interesting features. Both verbs and prepositions require an oblique case<sup>1</sup> of the pronoun and do not regularly allow the nominative as in case of nouns (cf. §82). Examples of the regular use of the acc. of pers. pron. are: *Meind, juscht, du schwetzt vom schqueiər un juscht schick ən, ich waer gəwiss ɔrɪch frō* (W. 66). *Wie eich hot betrogə*

*Das suchə um geld bei dem goldene boge* (H. H. 57).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *So enər of kors du ich net sutə* (R. H. 218).

*Sī koschtə mich ken geld* (F. K. Z. 27).

*Wvs bvt mich* [N. H. G. hilft, nutzt mir] *vunər dings* (F. K. Z. 27).

*Muss ich mich widər ufgevo* (R. H. 220). Peculiar to P. G. is:

*Wverschť sēnə wī ver's* ['s = es acc.] *gleicht* (F. K. Z. 25).

#### *Demonstrative Pronouns.*

§84.—For *this*, the nearer demonstrative, N. H. G. *der, die, das* (*dieser, diese, dieses*), P. G. employs *dver, dī, des* (the mas. and neut. distinguishable from the definite article by the omission of the initial *d* in the neuter form of the latter and by a lighter accent on the mas. form, cf. §55). **Des** is *ən bild fom Henri Hvrboch* (H. 76). (For case of the article, cf. **ʒs** *buch hēsť "Dī Hvrfo."*) *So gēt's in derə rvuħə Welt, wo vlles muss fərgē* (H. H. 84). *Ich kum(m) dī woch* (R. H. 175).

For *that*, the remote demonstrative, N. H. G. *jener, jene, jenes*, P. G. employs regularly *selər, seli, sel*.

**ʒs** *vlt mvrík-hvūs gēt boll* "down below" [N. English].

*An selər hummərťjərích* "show" [N. English] (F. A. M. 37).

*Dort in seləm schēnə fəťərħvūs* (H. 77).

Cf. *der sēm*, determinative pronoun.

P. G. has adopted here the English word *same* in the form *sēm* and employs it with the definite article as a strong determinative pronoun = N. H. G. *derselbigē*, etc.

#### *Interrogative Pronouns* (cf. §62).

*Wver* (*wer*), *wvs* (indecl.), *who, what*, and *welər, weli, wel*, *which*, are used much the same as in N. H. G., except that P. G. employs a dative for the N. H. G. genitive. **Wem sei frv** *is gestərwo?* (Wessen frau ist gestorben?) For the feminine *welərə ir* is used (cf. Horne's paradigm, §62). For N. H. G. *warum?* the P. G. employs *fər wvs?* Cf. also cases like *For wvs es wört isch* (For what it is worth), F. K. Z. 4. English influence is possibly to be looked for here.

*Welər preis?*—*Dō is fər fīnf un zwvnsich*, etc. (R. H. 202).

#### *Relative Pronouns.*

· §85.—For the N. H. G. relative *welcher* and *der* in all cases the popular P. G. idiom employs the forms *vs* and *wo* (*wu*).

*Un wver het's gādenkt* **ʒs** [= *dass*] *dī pennsylvvnisich deitsch schprōch schir fir dvusend wvrtə het, biseids ə dvusend menər* **ʒs** [= *welche*] *juscht vus əm Englisch gənumə sinn* (R. H. 186). Horn, Fischer and others, however, write regularly *dvs* instead of

*vs*, even in referring to a masculine antecedent. This is quite analogous to the English use of the relative *that*, referring to both persons and things. *Fr w̃r selli zeit d̃r bescht g̃alvernt goṽernir d̃es noch ūf ̃m st̃l w̃r* (H. 73). *Mei~ ̃rb̃r, hochg̃al̃bt unn f̃r-w̃ndt̃r Herrb̃ch w̃r d̃r erscht d̃es sich's unñarñm̃a hot ̃n pennsylṽnisch-deitsch̃a liter̃t̃ur zu ergr̃ind̃a* (F. K. Z. 3).

Some authors, particularly Harbaugh and Wollenweber, employ the relative in its full N. H. G. form, but this is evidently a reminiscence of N. H. G. influence.

Mei~ herts tr̃echt w̃i ̃n heilich ding,  
D̃i g̃̃fil̃a d̃i ich mit mir bring  
H̃em fon d̃r l̃eng̃a reis (H. H. 31).

P. G. supplies the place of the genitive of the relative by the use of the dative. This dative takes the place of the genitive of both relative forms *d̃er*, *wo*, as in R. P. (cf. Nadler, p. 216, §11). *Sie erz̃̃l̃a es waer ̃ M̃nñ in Rend̃ing g̃awes̃a, dem sei~ ñm̃a w̃r L.* (W. 61).

For the N. H. G. *welchen*, *welche*, the P. G., like R. P., employs also the relative *wo* (*wu*):

*O! horcht ̃r leit; w̃u ñoch mir l̃ebt,*  
*Ich schreib noch des schtick* (H. H. 19).  
*Der w̃u [welcher] ̃m ṽnñer̃a sei~ ṽi f̃̃rbrecht k̃rikt's ṽi* (H. 45).  
*O! loss mich g̃̃! J̃v loss mich g̃̃!*  
*Ñoch meiner̃a h̃em̃at z̃u,*  
**Wu** leid (*t*) dort d̃roṽ, ṽch w̃i sche~! (R. B. 195.)

Note 1.—Nadler has pointed out (Ged. in Pfälzer Mundart, S. 216, §11), the identity of this relative *wo* (*wu*) with English *who*. In R. P. and P. G., however, it is indeclinable. The same is found in other dialects; cf. Hunz. Aarg. Wbch.: *die wo w̃end ch̃ó, selle's s̃̃ge*.

The use of *vs* for *das* (or *dass*, cf. §85) in P. G. seems to indicate Swiss influence (cf. Hald. p. 37). Aarg.: *I weis niemer as ch̃önt ch̃ó, es git f̃il das (as) furt g̃önd* (Hunz. Aarg. Wbch. 47).

#### *Indefinite Pronouns.*

§86.—1. *Ēñar* (*ēña*), *ēns*. Only the masculine and neuter forms are in general use as *indefinites*. The masculine is used much as in N. H. G., except that for the genitive the dative is used. *Is ēñar d̃ō vs net ̃n Rom̃on is? W̃onn so ēñar d̃ō is, loss ̃n r̃vus schw̃etz̃a* (R. 218). For nom. = acc. cf. §81, 2. *D̃r ēnt* (= N. H. G. *der eine*), *d̃r ṽnñar* (= N. H. G. *der andere*), *keñar* (=

N. H. G. keiner), and the various flexional forms are also used in P. G.

2. *Ebbær, ebbæs*, N. H. G. *jemand*, *etwas* (cf. §30, 2, note 2). *Ɔ wpr ebbær in selløm schtül—ebbær wpr dort, so gæwiss vs ich lēbø* (R. Rip van Winkel, p. 14). A curious case of agreement is seen in the following example :

*Allæs is schtill—sī wissæ net,  
Dvss eppær (ebbær) fremmæs kumt* (H. H. 79).

This is explainable either as the survival of the older genitive, or as analogous to P. G. *ebbæs fremmæs* (= N. H. G. *etwas fremdes*, cf. *Ɔs muss ebbæs 'bættich's sei~* [es muss *etwas besonders* sein]), H. H. 66. *Uf emol kochts un plumps! plumps! kumt ebbæs wermæs uf de schümwchær gæfolla* (W. 54). *Ennig ebbæs sunscht?* [sonst etwas?] (R. 192). The P. G. usage here is the same in the main as that of R. P. (cf. *ebbær, ebbæs*). The neuter form is of more frequent occurrence than the masculine. *Ɔch, Lourv! dvs ich hier so ebbes höre muss!* (N. S. 94). *Nvu' geht er frech uf ebbes vnnerscht* [etwas anders] *aus*, Sch. 18. *Jemvnd, nīmōvnd, jēdær (jēdø), jēdærmōvnn* are all in use in P. G. and agree in the main with N. H. G. With Fischer and Harbaugh the form *jēdø* is quite common. *Deinø gītø, deinø wunnær singt jo jēdø kinnærzung* (H. H. 41). *Ɔn schmidtschop hot æn jēdø mōvnn* (F. K. Z. 7). *Jēdær muss sei~ ægnæ hvut zum gaervær drvgæ* (Horne, 35). *Los jēdærmōvnn wps ver is, so bleibschd dū v~ wpr dū bischt* (Horne, 36).

3. *Enig, etlich, mōnig*. P. G. *enig* = N. H. G. *irgendwelch* or *irgend ein(ig)*, N. E. *any*, and hence is clearly distinguished from *etlich*. *Gør kē~ diphtheriæ, unn in fvect gør nix gæfærlichs fon enigær vrt* (R. H. 196).

*Dvrrch enig rissli gēt ver nei~  
Unn gēt v~ uf dī schtēk* (R. B. 185).

Cf. *Unn wōnn dū mer æn schtick bōbbīr (pwpīr) gebscht, will ich etlich pilferlin præpveræ fær sī* (R. H. 197) for an ex. of *etlich*.

In the peculiar force of *enig* English influence is doubtless to be traced (cf. the N. E. *any*, which is much more convenient than any corresponding N. H. G. expression).

*Ɔn mēnchær ruyæt unnær im,  
Wōnn mōl dī hits is gross unn schlim* (R. B. 188).

Of P. G. *vll, vil* nothing need be said in particular.



## VERBS.

§87.—The most interesting features of the syntax of the P. G. verb consist in forms borrowed from English. These will be treated in the chapter on English Mixture. Here it will be necessary to note only a few points in the use of *moods* in P. German. As was seen in the paradigm of the verb, the indicative is decidedly the *regular form* of the P. G. verb. The subjunctive is in use, but is expressed by the aid of auxiliaries, which alone have preserved the subjunctive forms in their conjugation. For the use of tenses cf. §65. The *Subjunctive* is used in P. G. as in N. H. G. in the *unreal or ideal condition*, either with or without the hypothetical conjunction (*wonn, vs wonn*, in the condition, *dønn* in the conclusion); while the *real condition* is expressed by the indicative as in N. H. G. *Present condition* :

**Het** *ich niks vs mei~ Lisli mei~ Peif unn mei~ wei~.*

*Es wær mær doch vllæs so hibsich unn so güt.*

*Unn wenn ich di heb, bin ich luschtich unn frei.*

*Si schteerke mær immær mei~ hwerz unn mei~ müt.*

(F. K. 62.)

The last two lines of the stanza illustrate the use of the indicative in the *real (general) condition*. The same rule for the use of moods extends to elliptical conditions: *Ich kennt dær ən schtōri* [*< English story = N. H. G. geschichte*] *færzēlæ* [N. H. G. erzählen], *So vs's gæringschtæ wært Dir dei~ sēl ufreisæ dēt; dei~ jung's blūt kolt friræ* (R. H. 221).

In the last example the form *dēt* (N. H. G. thäte) is the auxiliary regularly used in P. G. to fill the place of the subjunctive forms of the verb.

*Past unreal condition* : *Du hetscht ən pær jör friræ a~ fongæ sollæ, dønn wær villeicht* [*færleicht, Horne*] *ebbæs drvus wærræ* (Ziegler in Hald. p. 28). The following will illustrate the elliptical past condition : *Unn ich hæb gfilt* [N. H. G. gefühlt] *juscht græa dæv wonn ich mich foll hæsær tē gsof(f)æ het* (Rauch in Hald. p. 38). \* See P. 64

*Subjunctive in indirect discourse* :

*Es wær vusgevæ, vs ich gschlōfæ het in meim bœmgvrdæ* [N. H. G. baumgarten].

*Unn vs ən schlæng vn mich gækrōddelt* [= N. H. G. gekrochen]

**wær,**

*Unn het mich dōt gæbissæ* (R. H. 221).

*Subjunctive of desire* : *Dō will ich eich əmōl ən p̄r svchə frōgə, dī ich gvern wissə det* (Hald. p. 53).

*Infinitive*. P. G. often omits *zu* before the infinitive in constructions beginning with *fər* after certain verbs: *ḡbūt əm jör* 1870, *hvb ich mci~ meind ūfgəmvcht fər'n buch schreivə unn publischə* (R. H. VI). *Ich hvb v~ fənge schēffə* (Hald. p. 39). *Ōnə dī brill ūf dū~* (Hald. p. 40), cf. §91. For infinitive-substantive, cf. §92.

#### ADVERBS.

§88.—1. *Adverbs of time*. P. G. like N. H. G. employs the adverbial genitive *m̄ryəts* (or *morgends*) (N. H. G. *morgens*), *v̄vəts*, *v̄vets* or *v̄vends* (N. H. G. *abends*), *jēmōls* (N. H. G. *jemals*), *ebmōls* (N. H. G. *manchmal*), *v~fangs* (N. H. G. *anfangs*), *heidigsd̄vgs* (N. H. G. *heutigen tages*). Ex.: *Fon m̄ryəts frī bis v̄vets schp̄t* (R. B. 181).

*Dī fveschəns* [N. E. *fashions*, N. H. G. *moden*], *dī f̄rennerə sich Gv̄r oft so heidigsd̄vgs* (F. A. M. 58).

In the case of the following example the adverb *əns* (N. H. G. *einmal*, N. E. *once*) might be either gen. or acc. as far as the form is concerned. *Dō guck nur əns de ḡrtə v~* (W. 6).

The P. G. like N. H. G. makes use of the acc. or nom. in expressing definite time. *Ich sv̄g ich will kenər ɐlləweil* (N. H. G. *jetzt*), R. H. 191. So *m̄ryə* (N. H. G. *morgen*), *d̄vər n̄ḡscht d̄v̄g* (N. H. G. *den nächsten tag*), *den m̄ryə* (N. H. G. *diesen* or *heute morgen*), *m̄nweil* (N. E. *meanwhile*, N. H. G. *indessen*), *Minweil hot des ūfkottə* [N. E. *cutting up*, N. H. G. *possentreiben a~ gəfengə*] (W. 74). *Sidder* and *sinter* (= N. H. G. *seither*, *seitdem*). *Un sidder hen m̄r gl̄teis dō* (R. B. 190). *Dī M̄rgret muss sinter selə hup̄ps* [Eng. *hoops* = N. H. G. *krinolinen*, *reifrock*] *selbert ḡk̄rigt hv̄və* (W. 100). *Getrvut w̄vər siddər m̄v̄nches p̄r* (W. 40). *Unnerweils* = Eng. *meantime* (N. H. G. *inzwischen*), *nummə* = *nur einmal*, *selmöl* = *damals*, *nimmə* = *nimmer*. *Un unnerweils hot enər gs̄p̄d* (F. K. 77).

2. *Adverbs of place* : *dō* (N. H. G. *da*, *hier*), *wō* (N. H. G. *wo*), *d̄v̄rt* (N. H. G. *dort*), *hunnə* (N. H. G. *unten*), *drunnə* (N. H. G. *darunter*, *unten*), *ōvə* (N. H. G. *oben*), *drōvə* (N. H. G. *droben*, *darauf*), *nv̄us* (N. H. G. *hinaus*), *drv̄us* (N. H. G. *daraus*, *draussen*), *hv̄us* (N. H. G. *aussen*), *nei~* (N. H. G. *hinein*), *middədrin* (R. B. 189) (N. H. G. *mittendrin*), *fornə* (N. H. G. *forn*), *hinnə* (N. H. G. *hinten*), *h̄r* (N. H. G. *her*), *hī~*, *h̄in* (N. H. G. *hin*), *hinnəd̄rv~*, *hinnədrin*, *hinnəd̄ruf*, *hinnənei~*, *hinnənō~* (N. H. G.

hintendran, hintendrin, hintendrauf, hintennein, hintennach), *vnnərschwə* (H. H. 67) (N. H. G. anderswo), *dōhivə* (N. H. G. hüben).

3. *Adverbs of manner.* Besides the regular use of adjectives as adverbs of manner, the following deserve special mention: *letz*, used also as an adjective, (N. H. G. verkehrt). *Fərleicht gēscht du selvər letz* (R. H. 181); *juscht* (N. H. G. gerade), *grud*, *inschtvändig* (N. H. G. inständig, sogleich), *ivərzwerch* (N. H. G. überzwerch). Most interesting among P. G. adverbs of manner are those borrowed from N. English: *ennihvu* (N. E. *anyhow*, N. H. G. auf irgend eine weise, often concessive, N. H. G. es sei wie es wolle), *somhvu*, w. (N. E. *somehow*, N. H. G. irgendwie), *hærli* (N. E. *hardly*, N. H. G. kaum). *Ƴer kennt sī hærli mē* (F. A. M. 55). *Porpəs* (N. E. (*on*) *purpose*, N. H. G. absichtlich).

P. G. has a curious class of adverbs belonging here: *Ƴnnərsch(t)* (N. H. G. anders), *drunnərscht drivərsch*, *hinnərscht-fedərscht* (N. H. G. hinterst, forderst, cf. P. G. *fedrəfiss*, N. H. G. vorderfüsse), *koppfedərscht* (N. H. G. mit dem kopf voran, köpflings). *Dər soddəl hinnərscht-fedərscht druf* (F. A. M. 93). **Kopp-fedərscht** *nei~ vm schpundəloch* (F. A. M. 91). *Sī wōnə ennersch-wō!* (H. H. 67).

*Dī vltə sochə hen sī dō*

*Ƴll's drunnərscht drivərsch nei~* (H. H. 66).

These forms are formed from the base *drunter*, *drüber*; cf. N. H. G. analogies *Das unterste zu oberst*, *Das oberste zu unterst* (kehren).

4. *Adverbs of degree* of special importance in P. G. are *vrich* (N. H. G. arg, lex. sehr), *mər hen vrich kvltəs wettər vlləwcił* (R. H. 178); *fulləns* (N. H. G. vollends, völlig, cf. N. E. fully), *Unn ich denk es is Ƴ fulləns so fil mē waert* (R. H. 199); *veri* (N. E. *very*, N. H. G. aller + superlative form of adjective), *Ich inschur's, vs sī dī veri beschə* [N. H. G. die allerbesten] *sinn* (R. H. 202). P. G. employs also the form *aller* + superlative as N. H. G. *Ich hvb, unn fon der vllərbescht quvłiti* (R. H. 202); *əbvut* (N. E. about, N. H. G. ungefähr), used very frequently as a preposition; *schir* (N. H. G. fast), *So wvr's schir gvr dī letscht woch* (R. B. 189).

5. *Relative adverbs.* P. G. usually forms its relative adverbs on the base forms *der-*, as *derfo* (= N. H. G. davon), *derfor* (N. H. G. davor), *derzu* (N. H. G. dazu), *derwēgə* (N. H. G. deswegen), *dernēvə* (N. H. G. daneben).

6. *Adverbs of direction*: *annə*, *wu vnnə*, *dortvnnə* (= N. H. G.

hin, wohin, dorthin). *Loss mich dortennə gē* (R. B. 195). *Hēmtsus* (= N. H. G. nach haus).

*Dənn sinn die schilər hēmtsus gəschprungə* (F. K. 7).

#### PREPOSITIONS.

§89.—Inasmuch as P. G. evades the use of the genitive case, it naturally extends the same principle to the genitive construction with prepositions. The relations expressed in N. H. G. by this construction are distributed, for the most part, among the prepositions governing the dative.

1. *Dative only.* *ʔus* (N. H. G. aus). *ʔwər nuu həb ich's selvər gsē, unn mit meinə ēgnə ɔrə həb ich dī wɔrtə selvər hērə ʔus der mēschin ʔvus kumə* (R. H. 228).

*Bei.* *So bei der hʔiet unn der ʔern* [N. H. G. ernte] (H. H. 69). *Unn geht nuu in dī koscht bei seinər Frʔ* (H. H. 22). *Dʔer schun bei der gēt* [N. H. G. gartenthür] *ʔərbei wʔr* (W. 15). *Bei* is also used in sense of the English *by* (= N. H. G. durch, von).

*Nuu is dər wintər fon unsər unru*

*Gloreich gmʔcht bei der sonn fon ʔvrik* (R. H. 219).

*Fon.* This preposition, besides performing its usual prepositional functions, as in N. H. G., has to supply to a great extent the place of the genitive construction in P. G. *Dər Pētar Milənberg wʔr ən sōn fom ʔetriərch Milənberg, əm grindər fun der Ludrischə Kēerch in ʔmerkʔ* (H. 81).

For *fon wēgə* cf. *wegə*.

*Mit.* *Loss sī mit fridə* [N. H. G. frieden] (R. H. 222).

*Nōch.* *Das nōch seim dōt ən frommer krischt ʔərīck losst ən echō* (Weiser in H. H. 10).

*Samt.*

*Sie wissə niks fon ʔənnhʔs dort,*

*Juscht blōnəwərscht fon allə sort,*

*Fon hund səmt hōr unn həut* (F. A. M. 45).

Mit *samt* is also used: *Mit səmt deim bēelēens-schtee~* [= balance-stone] (F. A. M. 67).

*Sidder.*

*Dō brechtə n nʔscht* [N. H. G. ein ast], *n ʔnnərə dort,*

*So mʔcht's schun sidderm* [N. H. G. seit dem] *freidʔg fort.*

(R. B. 191.)

*Wēgə.* *Dī ʔltə leit wʔrə ʔlseiməl* [N. H. G. allzumal, lex. zuweilen] *ʔrch gəbʔttərt* [< N. E. bothered] *wēgə irəm bū*

(W. 11). *Sel wpr's end fom verschtə profeschənəl* [N. E. professional] *gschprēch wēgə əm Mr. Mock seim schwīgəfvðər seinər eschtēt* [N. E. estate] (R. H. 207).

*Von wēgə. Bikēs* [= N. H. G. denn, weil, English vulgar for because] *sī werden* [more correctly *wverrə*] *just* [better *juscht*] *gejust* [Eng. used] *von "city ladies" von wēgə seləm* (W. 99).

*Zu.* Besides the usual construction with *zu* which P. G. has in common with N. H. G., the former employs this preposition in many constructions borrowed from English. Ex.: *Wonn enər in der fərsəmmelung is, vs ən gūtər freind zum Cēsər wpr, zu im sɔg ich, vs ver ken bessərər freind zu'm wpr, vs ich selvər* (R. H. 218). *ḡbūt* in the expression: *ḡbūt əm jör* 1870 (R. H. VI) is perhaps best explained as an adverb (= N. H. G. ungefähr), the full construction being *ḡbūt im jör* 1870 (cf. §89, 2).

2. *Accusative only.* As in the case of the direct verbal regimen, so here the nom. form instead of the acc. frequently follows the preposition. The prepositions belonging regularly to this category are *bis*: *Unn erlich bis uf's hōr* (H. H. 69); *dərch, dərlich*: *'Sis net mē so; mər gebt juscht notis dərlich dī editors* (H. H. 22). *Fər*: *Ens fər mich selvər* (R. H. 186); *fər ən lɔyər schtudirə* [= N. E. to study for (to be or become) a lawyer], F. K. 129. *Wonn net schick ich fər dər Dr. Schmidt* [N. H. G. wenn nicht, so schicke ich nach Dr. S. oder lass Dr. S. rufen], R. H. 196. *Gēgə*: *Nvu wī's so in der welt gēt, hat dver ḡb so ə vrt libschəft gegə dī Sus (Susən) gəfilt* (W. 11). *Um*: *Dənn kumt dīr əns um's ənnər nō* (Weiser in H. H. 10). *Un hot 'n um dər həls gkrikt* (R. H. 223). In addition to the above prepositions the following must be mentioned as belonging to this class: *vuschtott*, *Finf hvb ich schun dod gəmvcht vuschtett in* (R. H. 220). *ḡbout*: this preposition is taken directly from English and is frequent for *um*: *ḡbout drei ūr* (W. 55).

3. *Dative or accusative.*—The distinction between dative when *position* is implied and accusative when *direction* is involved, found in N. H. G., is retained in the main in P. G., excepting, of course, frequent cases of nominative for accusative. The prepositions belonging to this class are: *vn, hinnər (hinnich), in, iwər, nēvə (nēvich), ovich, unnər, fər, zwischə*.

*ḡn* has in P. G., as in N. H. G., the usual significations.

*Dei~hvrf hengt vn der wvnd im eck* (Weiser in H. H. 9).

*Unn vn dī wend ins eck nei~gē* (Weiser, H. H. 10).

Besides these there are other significations peculiar to P. G.

*Unn dī gschwischtər—vll zərschtreit.*

*Færsømmilə* **ən** [N. H. G. zu] **der** *evətzeit*! (H. H. 30).

*Ich muss nūf* **ans** [N. H. G. zu] **Brəuns** [supply *həus*] *gē* (R. H. 182).

*Ich nēm ə pər fon dennə* **ən** *finf* **unn** *dreisich* (R. H. 192). Cf. Engl. Mixture.

*Is mei~ ēgnər brudər, dei~ onkəl* **ən** *mich nufgəschnikt* [Engl. sneaked] *kumə* (R. H. 222).

A curious collocation is found with prepositions, ex.: *Do klopts* **əm** *porrə seinər tīr* (W. 44) = N. H. G. Da klopft's an der thür des pfarrers (cf. §81, 1). *İvər. ʒn vlt hufeisə ivər der dīr, Unn hūmmər unn zung dōbei* (F. K. 8). *Dver schē~ rēgəbogə im volkəgədimməl, Weist ivər dī erd(ə) zum goldenə himməl* (H. H. 57). *Hinnər and hinnich. Dver kenit ke hund- hinnər dem dōfə rūslocke* (W. 14). *Do kommt (kummt) ən vltər munn hinnich mīr hēr* (W. 60). *Es is a~ ən hūs hinnich əm grossə həus* (H. 49).

*Es sēt mich nimənd, wənn ich heil* (N. H. G. weine)

*Hinnər der druvərənē* (H. H. 80).

*In* has been sufficiently illustrated in examples under **ən**.

*nēvə, nēvich. Unn stelltə sich grad nēvə mich* (W. Vorred. 1).

**Nevich** *mīr ən lōrər schtūl* (F. K. 30).

\* \* *Hvb ich mich nebig (nēvich) in hī~ gasetzt* (W. 60).

*Ovich. Unn henk's hufeisə ovich dī dīr* (F. A. M. 66).

*Unnər. Unnər də settlers* [N. H. G. ansiedlern] *in Berks-kvuntī* [N. H. G. grafschaft] (W. 137).

*För. Bin vus schēp* [Engl. shape] *gemvcht, unn för meinər zeit in dī wəlt kumə* (R. H. 219).

*Uf. Provideed* [N. H. G. wenn, unter der Bedingung dass] *mər kann sī kufe uf bərriks* [N. H. G. auf credit] *unn fərkyfə ferkvəsch* (N. H. G. gegen bar) (R. H. 234). **Uf** *ən erschte April* (W. 47). *Versə uf sī gəmvcht* (W. 126). *Zwischə. Pləns* [N. H. G. pläne] *hab ich gəlēhd for ən ufrōr rēsə* [N. E. raise] **zwischə** *meim brudər Clərənce unn əm kēnich* (R. H. 219).

Standing in a certain sense between the prepositional and adverbial relation are expressions like *zum singə gēn dī bōrd-kvərch* [N. E. board-church] **nuf** [N. H. G. zur bretterkirche hinauf] *pər buvə unn pər mēd*, (H. H. 62).

#### CONJUNCTIONS.

§90.—P. G. *vs* for *dass* is very frequent. Haldeman (p. 36) attributed this to Swiss influence. It thus assumes the same form

as *vs* (= N. H. G. *als*). The P. G. *vls* like Swiss *als* = N. H. G. *früher*, *immer*, is not leveled to *vs* (cf. Haldeman, p. 37). The P. G. *vs* (for *dvss*) is the regular (but not exclusive) form with Rauch, while Horne, Wollenweber, Rachel Bahn, Fischer, Harbaugh employ *vs*, *dvs* (*dvss*) regularly. Examples of the special uses of *vs* in P. G. are: (1) *vs* = N. H. G. *dass*. *Es wv̄r vusgēv̄a, v̄s ich ḡaschlof̄a het in meim b̄m̄gv̄rd̄a* (R. H. 221). (2) *vs* = N. H. G. *rel. der, die, das, welcher*, etc. *Is en̄r dō, v̄s net ̄n Roman is?* (R. H. 218). (3) *vs* = N. H. G. *als*. *v̄v̄r sō b̄v̄l v̄s d̄v̄r dō sōn v̄~kum̄a is*, etc. (R. H. 224). (4) in comparison:

*O v̄s is schen̄r uf der welt*

**v̄s** bl̄mlin rot unn weiss (Witmer in R. H. 216).

Special constructions with *dvs* were noted briefly by Haldeman (p. 37-8). *Dvs* = N. H. G. *als* frequently. *Unn ich hv̄b k̄f̄ilt j̄uscht gr̄vd d̄v̄s w̄nn ich mich foll h̄s̄r huld̄r t̄e ḡasof̄a het* (Rauch as quoted by Hald. p. 38). Haldeman, in his treatment of this word (p. 38), has suggested three possible explanations, (1) *dvs* = *vls*, *dv̄sz* or *dv̄(r)v̄ls*; (2) *dvs* = *dv* with adverbial suffix (cf. Hald. Affixes, p. 213); (3) Ziegler's explanation that it arises from the juxtaposition of the two words *gr̄vd vs* (= *vls*), the *d* being transferred to the following word as in the French liaison. But examples like *Net weinich̄r d̄v̄s s̄iv̄a h̄nn̄rt f̄ar dich unn mich* (Rauch, quoted by Hald. p. 38) are against this explanation. It seems to me unnecessary to seek for such far-fetched explanations, and more reasonable to regard this as a construction in which *dvs* has included in its meanings the force of *vls* in comparison (cf. the history of N. H. G. *denn* and *als* in comparison). It is much more plausible to suppose that the confusion of *dvs* and *vs* (as Haldeman, p. 38, suggests) is analogous to the "cutting down" of the pronouns *des* and *es* to *̄s*, and that *vs* (< *vls*) was then confused with *vs* (< *d̄v̄s* or *dess*).

Interesting collocations with *vs* are *f̄arv̄vs vs* (= N. H. G. *weshalb, warum*), *v̄nschtv̄t vs* (= N. H. G. *statt—zu* with infin.).

P. G. employs regularly *dv̄nn*, *w̄nn* (= N. H. G. *wann* and *wenn*), *wie, weil, sō d̄v̄s* ud *sō vs, vs w̄nn* (= N. H. G. *als wenn*).

§91.—Of especial importance are P. G. idioms borrowed from N. E. as *f̄ar—(zu)* (= N. H. G. *zu um—zu*) with the infinitive. *Ich hv̄b v̄~n pl̄v̄n f̄ar 'n neia sort p̄v̄tent h̄inkl̄s̄up koch̄a* (R. H. 229). **Provided: Provided** [= N. H. G. *wenn, unter der bedingung, dass*] *m̄r k̄v̄n s̄i k̄v̄f̄a uf b̄v̄riks* (R. H. 234). *Īt̄ar—od̄ar* (= N. H. G. *entweder—oder*; *īt̄er* < N. E. *either*); Rauch

employs *entweddər*, however, although he is the most English of all P. G. writers. Of the remaining conjunctions (copulative) and conjunctive adverbs little need be said. P. G. does not employ the N. H. G. correlative *weder—noch*, but *net—unn net*. *Ƴer iss net neich unn net Ƴrm* (Hald. p. 40).

*Infinitive-Substantive.*

§92.—P. German, like many other Rhenish dialects, makes frequent use of the infinitive-substantive.

*Ƴs Ƴrə in dər trēn* [N. E. train] (H. 61).

*Nein treppə- əs brvucht kē zēləs dō.* (H. H. 31).

For cases of this construction in other dialects, cf.

Was e' *Dränges*, was e' *Treiwes*,

Wo nor all das nauser soll? (Sch. 7).

Des letschtmol auwer is keeñ Blut

Ufs *Schlage* mehr geloffe (N. 65).

Ich kann mich fors *Mahle*

So selber bezahle (Lennig, 90).

Wär so en Winterdag recht lang,

• Wärs' mauchem vorr em *Schaffe* bang (Zeller, 34).

Wann aber ich im *Zähle* so

Bis über verzich kumm (Kobell, 24).

Des werd e *Suches* koschte (Woll. 47).



## V.

## ENGLISH MIXTURE.

Speech-mixture in P. G. falls naturally into two divisions: (1) *English mixture*, the subject of the present chapter, (2) *German mixture*, or dialectic fusion, to be treated elsewhere.

The thesis that P. G. is essentially a German dialect and not a compromise between German and English has been adequately maintained in the foregoing chapters on phonology and morphology, which are the true criteria of speech classification. In the chapter on syntax it was seen that English had made inroads into the dialect to a very great extent. The present chapter is designed to set forth the nature and causes of this infusion of English, and the laws which govern this mixture of speech elements.

The problem involved is one of exceedingly complex nature: (1) As regards the German elements brought into contact with the new environment. They were not simply members of one German race, representing one separate German dialect, but members of various races, speaking as many dialects with their provincial patois—Swiss, Suabians, Bavarians, Alsations, Pfälzer, Saxons. (2) As to their social rank. They did not represent the same social class, but a great variety of social conditions—men of noble rank, like Zinzendorf (who, to be sure, did not settle permanently in the new land); men of profound learning, like Pastorius; men of wealth, like the Crefeld merchants; sturdy pioneers of civilization, like Nitschman; soldiers of fortune—or rather of misfortune—like the Hessians, whom destiny called to defend their new fatherland before taking possession of its fair fields; skilled artisans of almost every trade. (3) As to religion. Devout men of varied persuasions and religious beliefs—Lutherans, Anabaptists, Mennonites, Herrnhuter, Friends, Huguenots, Pietists and Mystics. Add to these facts the conditions of life which they found here: (1) the ethnic elements—English, Scotch, Irish (cf. IX, p. 77); (2) the social and political changes constantly developing in the flux

and flow of our mobile American life; the dominant power of English as the recognized official speech, its growing influence through the public school, its superior advantages as the language of cultivated society. All these are constant forces in the processes of speech-growth under consideration. The elements, then, which enter into our treatment are the Germans with their variety of language and life, on the one hand, influenced by the new conditions of language, institutions, and life—mostly English, Scotch, and Irish—on the other. The discussion will fall under three separate headings: (1) The proportion of English in P. German; (2) the nature of this mixture; (3) the causes and laws underlying this speech-development.

It does not fall within the scope of this chapter to treat at length the influence of English on P. G. phonology. A word must suffice. To the most casual observer, the Germanized pronunciation of English in many P. G. localities is noticeable. So, too, English makes its impression upon the pronunciation of German. A variety of phonological stages or products is distinguishable. The two extremes are comparatively pure—Pennsylvania German, on the one hand, and English on the other, each with its own *basis of articulation*. A very large number speak both languages with remarkable purity. Between these extremes there are those who speak both German and English with the German basis of articulation, and those (I should think relatively few) who speak both English and German with the English basis. It is possible that English influence is traceable in certain P. G. sounds closely resembling the corresponding English sounds, as, for example, P. G. *v* and *ʋ*; cf. phonology.

*Proportion of the English to the German Element in P. German.*

In order to determine the exact proportions of English in Pennsylvania German it will be necessary to examine not only the representative *literature* of the dialect, but also the *language as spoken* by the people in their various pursuits and conditions of life. The peasant girl, now in the kitchen, now in the field; the quiet farmer, rarely venturing beyond the nearest market-place; the active merchant, breathing the invigorating atmosphere of commercial life; the professional man, in constant contact with keen scrutinizing intellects; the statesman, the scholar, and the poet, must all contribute material for our investigation from their

peculiarities of vocabulary, syntax and style. Let us examine the speech of these representative classes.

1. *Glossaries.* There are two approximately complete dictionaries of the P. G. dialect, both published since Prof. Haldeman wrote his "Essay on Pennsylvania Dutch." Of these two lexicons, that compiled by E. H. Rauch and published in his *Pennsylvania Dutch Handbook* (P. G.-N. E. and N. E.-P. G.) contains, to quote his own words, "Schir fir deusend werdtə, biseids ə deusənd mēnər ɐs ɐus əm englisch gənummə sinn," thus making an aggregate of about 5000 words. The second of the above-mentioned dictionaries is that published by Prof. A. R. Horne in his book entitled "*Im Horn sei~ Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Buch*" (P. G.-N. E.-N. H. G.). This is by far the most complete and scientific lexicon of the P. G. speech, and contains 5522 words. In addition to these two dictionaries there are three other incomplete glossaries, one appended by H. L. Fisher to his "*Is Vlt Maerikhəus mittəs in dər Schdolt*," the second to his "*Kurzweil unn Zeitfərtreib*," the third published by Bausman as a "Wortverzeichniss" to Harbaugh's "Herfe."<sup>1</sup>

A word-by-word examination of these glossaries gives the following results :

"Im Horn sei~ Buch,"	5522 words, 176 English.
Rauch's "Hand-book," circa	5000 " 1000 "
Fisher's "Is Vlt Maerikhəus"	2181 " 63 "
"Kurzweil unn Zeitfərtreib,"	1983 " 21 "
"Wortverzeichniss" to H.'s "Herfe,"	245 " 123 "

It must be stated, however, that the "Wortverzeichniss" is only a list of the most unusual words, and hence not representative. None of these glossaries except Rauch's attempts to give a full list of the English words in the dialect. If, then, we allow for the number of German words not contained in these collections, and the unrecorded English words actually in use among the people, the entire P. G. vocabulary would number about 6000 words. The figures given above, however, do not represent the exact proportion of English in the dialect, because the frequency with which

<sup>1</sup> Since this was written, a quite exhaustive glossary of the P. G. dialect (P. G.-English) by Dr. Hoffman has appeared in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Dec. 1888. This is, however, little more than a revision of Horne's dictionary. The author acknowledges no sources by name, and hence gives us no clue as to his mode of procedure.

these English words occur is not taken into consideration. To ascertain this let us examine the following specimens.

*Southwestern Section.*

In Harbaugh's poem, *ḡs Schulhaus vn dər Krik*, consisting of thirty-one five-lined strophes (900-1000 words), there are only fifty-one (51) English words, including six (6) recurrences of the work *Krik* and four (4) of the word *juscht* identifiable with the N. H. G. *just*. Some strophes have no English words, none have more than four. In the same book (Harbaugh's *Hvrfē*) is one of the most pathetic poems in the dialect, *Zum ḡ~denkə vn Dr. H. Hvrbvch*, by Rev. C. Weiser. This poem of nine six-lined strophes (nearly 400 words) contains but two different English words, *juscht*, referred to above, and *schtoppə* (English stop) twice. The next selection, ten poems by Rachel Bahn, contains 117 four-lined stanzas (2800-3000 words). Of this number only 66 are English, including 11 recurrences of *nvu* and 7 of *juscht*. Miss Rachel Bahn has sent me a prose description of Autumn (177 words) in which not a single English word is to be found.

In Fisher's *ḡltə Zeittə*, a poem of some 323 seven-lined strophes, there are, according to my count, only 318 unquestionably English words (including a large number, such as "awful," "potatoes," "cottage-cheese," which have good P. G. equivalents, *schrecklich*, *grumbərə*, *schmīrkēs*, and are consciously regarded as intruders, inasmuch as the author writes them in italics). Fisher's P. G. translation of Bryant's "Rivulet," *Kurzweilunn Zeitfərtreib*, pp. 135-9, contains circa 600 P. G. words and no English. This is remarkable as showing the capacity of the dialect. In order to illustrate the proportion of English in Fisher's prose we have chosen two selections. The first is the *Förwvrt* to his *Kurzweil unn Zeitfərtreib*, containing about 500 words, in which the English *gəpublischt* occurs twice, *juscht* and *nvu* once each, and the possible English *flint* in the expression "*mei~ flint zu pikə*." The second prose selection from Fisher is from a P. G. correspondence in which he discusses P. G. orthography, vocabulary and kindred topics. In the prose portion of about 300 words the only English word which occurs is "*local*." To complete our examination of the literature of the Southwestern Section the following newspaper selections have been made:

The first article, *Dī Saelli will irə vks gəschlifə hvvə*, from

the *Penna. Staatszeitung* (Dec. 25, 1884) of Harrisburg, Pa., contains about 750 words, of which 48 are English, including repetitions of *lekshən* and *nvu*. The next selection, *Dem Kaeptən sei~Chrischt-Kindəl*, from the *Lancaster Volksfreund und Beobachter* (Dec. 24, 1884), contains about 850 words, of which (proper names excepted) only 22 are English.

### *Northeastern Section.*

The first selection, Rauch's P. G. translation of Brutus' speech on the death of Caesar (Shakespeare's Julius Caesar), printed in Rauch's *Handbook* (p. 218), contains 247 words, of which but 10 are English. In an original article by Rauch ("Pit Schweffäl-brennər") in the *Carbon County Democrat* (Mauch Chunk) there are about 850 words, of which 123 are English. Rauch's P. G. translation of *Rip Van Winkel*, consisting of 26 pages, of about four hundred words each, averages about 20 English words to the page. From Wollenweber's *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* two selections have been chosen: (1) a prose selection, *Di Faeschəns* (pp. 75-76), containing 384 words, of which 22 are English; (2) a poem, *Im Sommər* (p. 19), of 3 seven-lined stanzas containing 131 words, of which but three are English. Zimmerman, in his P. G. translation of C. C. Moore's *Night before Christmas* (circa 500 words) employs only 29 English words. Tobias Witmer's poem, *Seks Ur* (Horne, pp. 59-60), of 9 four-lined stanzas (circa 300 words), contains but 10 English words. Prof. Horne's biographical sketch of Lawrence J. Ibach (Horne, p. 80) contains 160 words, of which 7 are English. Conrad Gehring's sketch of *Gov. Hartranft* (Horne, pp. 74-75) contains 200 words, of which 9 are English. Rev. Eli Keller, in his best poem, *Der Keschtəbm*, 52 verses (about 550 words), makes use of the English *mēpəl*, *mēpəlblit*, *nvu* (once each), and *juscht* (twice). The same writer, in No. 2 (about 250 words) of a series of 10 P. G. poems (circa 2500 words), in the Allentown *Kölennər* for 1885, does not employ a single English word. M. C. Henninger, in his poem (Horne, pp. 61-64), *ʒs Fvra in der Trēn* (12 eight-lined stanzas, about 500 words), makes use of 28 English words. These selections might be multiplied indefinitely, but enough has been given to show the proportion of English to P. G. in the dialect as written.

Of the *spoken dialect* the prose selections given are fairly representative, especially those from Fisher, Rachel Bahn, Rauch, and

Gehring. In order to give completeness to the treatment of the spoken language, let us consider the result from conversation taken from the lips of the speakers themselves. The results of the author's researches in these dialectic colloquies with the people who speak the dialect as their vernacular were two-fold: (1) verification or correction of what had already been written or printed; (2) collection of new materials, which have been used in various portions of this treatise. From these materials, collected in the workshop, in the field, in the kitchen, in the drawing-room, in the store, in church, in the railroad train, in the mixed assembly, we draw the following data.

### *Southwestern Section.*

In a conversation of five or six P. Germans around a store at Manchester, York Co., Pa. (July 5, 1884), the writer noted during the course of an hour the following English words: *hitching-post*, *crossing*, *stable*, *butcher*, *of course*, *reaper*. In an afternoon spent in the kitchen of a farmer near Manchester about a dozen English words were heard.

### *Northeastern Section.*

During a conversation between persons from Zieglersville, who were fellow-passengers on the Philadelphia and Reading R. R., the following English words were heard in the course of about an hour's ride: *of kors*, *gəsaetisfeid*, *aekkommodētə*, *lökēschan*, *fər-strēt*, *well*, *raepids*, *dəllər*, *Graend Tronk*, *eidə* (idea), *əbʊt* (about), *gəschtoppt* (stopped), *tip-top* (tiptop = N. H. G. ausgezeichnet, herrlich), *nʊ unn ðen* (now and then), *sʌləd mähgəni* (solid mahogany), *seləbrēschan* (celebration), *sēm steil* (same style), *terrəs* (terrace), *gēts* (gates), *inflüens* (influence), *īðər* (ether). In a tour around the Bethlehem market the following English words were heard among those who spoke P. German: *welschkaern* for English roasting-ears (which, by the way, the speaker did not understand), *rūbaerb* (rhubarb), *gummər* (cucumber), *trunks* (trunks, N. H. G. koffer), *kollekt* (collected, p. p.), *hömrons* (home runs). In the Allentown market in a similar walk the following were noted: *pek* (peck, measure), *tendə* (attend), *īkwəl tī* (equal to), *libərti* (liberty). The speakers referred to in all the above selections are distinctively Pennsylvania German and employ the language as their vernacular. There are, of course, strata of society where the language represents a more decided compromise

between English and German. Such places are found on the boundaries between German and English settlements and in the larger towns. This stage of language mixture is frequently found in the shops or stores, where both English and German customers congregate. Such mixture is to be found in Rauch's Handbook, as, for example, the conversation in the clothing store. This conversation contains 665 words, of which 44 are English, according to my count.

If, then, we recapitulate in tabulated form the results, we have the following proportion of P. G. and English :

*Southwestern Section—Prose.*

	Proportion of P. G. to English.
Fisher's "Förwert" . . . . .	100 to 1
" "Letter" . . . . .	300 to 1
"Penna. Staatszeitung" . . . . .	15 to 1
"Lancaster Volksfreund" etc. . . . .	38 to 1
Manchester conversation . . . (possibly)	100 to 1
Kitchen talk (York Co.) . . . . .	120 to 1
Total average for prose . . . . .	112 to 1

*Southwestern Section—Poetry.*

Harbaugh's "Schulhaus" etc. . . . .	20 to 1
Weiser's "V̄denkə" etc. . . . .	100 to 1
Rachel Bahn's "Gədichtə" . . . . .	43 to 1
Fisher's "V̄ltə Zeitə" . . . . .	40 to 1
" "ḡs Bechli" (Bryant) . . . . .	600 to 0
Total average for poetry . . . . .	160 to 1

*Northeastern Section—Prose.*

Rauch's "Speech of Brutus" . . . . .	25 to 1
"Article" . . . . .	7 to 1
Wollenweber's "Faeschəns" . . . . .	17 to 1
Gehring's "Gov. Hərtrenst" . . . . .	22 to 1
Horne's "L. J. Ibəch" . . . . .	23 to 1
R. R. conversation . . . (possibly)	60 to 1
Bethlehem market . . . . .	60 to 1
Clothing store (Rauch) . . . . .	15 to 1
Total average for prose . . . . .	15 to 1

*Northeastern Section—Poetry.*

	Proportion of P. G. to English.
Wollenweber's "Im Summər" . . . .	44 to 1
Zimmerman's "Necht" etc. . . . .	17 to 1
Witmer's "Seks Ur" . . . . .	30 to 1
Keller's "Keschtebēm" . . . . .	101 to 1
" " "Vus der eltə Zeit" . . . . .	250 to 0
Henninger's "Fērə in der Trēn" . . . .	18 to 1
Total average for poetry . . . . .	78 to 1

*Character of English Mixture in Pennsylvania German.*

The simplest form of English mixture in P. German is found in those cases where the English word has been introduced directly and without serious change of form. By far the greater portion of English mixture is of this kind. A list of the most important words is given here in alphabetical order. The accent is usually the same as in English; long and inverted vowels could not be printed with the accent.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
edyū	adieu	adieu.
effis	office	büreau, amt.
effisər	officer	beamte, officier.
əpərətə	operate	operiren.
əppōsə <i>uppos</i>	oppose	widerstehen.
ərdərə <i>argesse</i>	order	befehlen, bestellen.
ərgəneisə	organize	organisiren.
ərnəməntə	ornament	schmücken.
əkto	act	handeln, spielen.
əeddə <i>ausnehmen</i>	add	hinzuthun, addiren.
əeddrəssə	address	adressiren.
əedzchərnə	adjourn	vertagen.
əedmittə <i>eilom</i>	admit	zulassen.
əeddeptə	adopt	annehmen.
ədferdisə	advertize	öffentlich anzeigen. [verb.
əeffördə	afford	im stande sein, or können with a
əeməndə	amend	(ver)bessern, ergänzen.
əeppilə	appeal	appelliren, sich berufen (auf).
əepplədə	applaud	beifall zuklatschen.
əepppintə	appoint	bestimmen, ernennen.
əepprəsə	appraise	schätzen.
əepprūfə	approve	billigen.
əerrēndzchə	arrange	einrichten, ordnen.



P. G. / fange wie  
(aer)réschtə

aegrīə

aessəssə

aessefīə

aettačtschə

áevəredsch

bənd

~~bənetbex~~

bəss

bəssəm

bəi or pei

baélənsə

baéllət

baenk(s)

bačtschələr

bell (s. and v.)

béndi (H)

bénreil

bens

bəl

beilər

beind

biseid(s)X

bisness

biwi (H), piwi (H.H)

bódbəi

bóddəl

bóggi

bórd

börtsch

búkar

bússi kätzchen

bútschər

N. E.

arrest

agree

assess

assign

attach

average

bond

~~bannet~~-box

boss

opossum

pie

balance

ballot

bank(s)

bachelor

bell

banty (bantam)

pennyroyal

pence

bail

boiler

pint

besides

business

pewit

potpie

bottle

buggy

board

porch

bugger

pussy

butcher

N. H. G.

verhaften.

einwilligen, übereinstimmen.

einschätzen, besteuern.

übertragen, überschreiben.

in beschlag nehmen.

durchschnitt.

schuldchein, verpflichtung.

schachtel für ~~damen~~hüte. ah Bux

aufseher, meister, vormann.

beutelthier.

torte, kuchen.

balanciren.

wahlkugel, stimmzettel.

ufer.

jungeselle.

glöcke, läuten.

bantam-huhn.

flöhkraut.

pfennige

bürgschaft.

dampfkessel.

nössel.

ausser.

geschäft, sache.

kibitz

fleischpastete.

flasche.

leichter einspanniger Wagen.

brett.

altan, vorhalle. veranda

schinderknecht.

kätzchen.

fleischer.

teer.

vater.

timotheusgras.

besten dank.

pult.

mittagessen.

handel.

trab (gehen).

koffer.

rollbett.

der feine wohlgesittete Mann.

springen.

der

dədi (daedi) (vater)

démədi

X dənki

X desk(s), dest (H)

dinnər

dilings

dred 386 - 786 786

drunk

drúnnəl-bétt

dzchéntəlmaen

dzhúmpə

tar

daddy

timothy

thank you

desk(s)

dinner

dealings

trot

trunk

trundle-bed

gentleman

jump

	P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
	dzchūrōmaen	juryman	der geschworene.
	dzhūsdis	justice	gerechtigkeit, recht.
uf leue	éditor	editor	redacteur.
	élavētā	elevate	heben, erheben.
ausgeri <sup>to</sup>	endersā	endorse	indossiren.
	éndzhinīrā (or in-)	engineer	führen, lenken, regieren.
dinge	éndzhein (or in-)	engine	dampfmaschine, locomotive.
zus <sup>ech</sup>	endzhvīā	enjoy	geniessen.
grad	engēdzhā	engage	sich verbinden, bedingen, miethen.
	engrāf(v)ā	engrave	eingraben, stechen.
	enkērādzhā	encourage	ermuthigen.
	enrōlā	enroll	einschreiben.
	exaēktli	exactly	genau, gerade.
	exaēminā	examine	prüfen.
ausl <sup>er</sup>	exkyúsā	excuse	entschuldigen.
	exséptā	except	ausnehmen.
	éxakyútā	execute	ausführen.
Winte	expēndā	expend	ausgeben.
uf flose	expéllā	expel	austreiben.
	explēnā	explain	erklären.
	explōdā	explode	explodiren.
	expréssā	express	versenden.
	exschpéktā	expect	erwarten.
reche	extraēktā	extract	ausziehen. <i>raapje</i>
a	extēndā	extend	verlängern, erweiteren.
	ēdzhent	agent	agent.
ausweiche	ālēkschān	election	wahl.
	avēdā	evade	ausflüchte machen.
	fernes	furnace	schmelzofen.
	faekt	fact	thatsache.
	faérāwéll	farewell	lebewohl.
	féndyū	vendue	(öffentliche) versteigerung.
	— krzier	vendue crier	auctionator.
	fens	fence	einzäunung.
	feinā	fine	um geld strafen.
	fix	fix	befestigen, bestimmen.
	flv	flaw	riss, fehler.
	fōrs	force	gewalt.
	fūlā	fool	betrügen, zum narren machen.
vernarre	gerdzhāl	cordial	herzstärkung.
heiß	gaémlā	gamble	um geld spielen.
	gaerdīn	guardēn (vulg. for guardian)	vormund.
	geund	gown	kleid.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
gilti	guilty	schuldig.
graëmbirø	cranberries	preiselbeeren.
graëndaed	grandad, for grand- father	grossvater. - <i>Dier</i>
+ grubs	grubs	ausgegrabene baumwurzeln
gúkumər, gúmər	cucumber	gurke.
gūtbei	goodbye	adieu, lebewohl.
həspuər	hospower (vulg. for horsepower)	pferdekraft.
həswip	hoswip (vulg. for horsewhip)	ochsenziemer.
həuns	hounds	jagdhunde.
heist	heist (prov. for hoist)	heben, aufhissen.
həslər	hostler	stallknecht.
həschpítal	hospítal (prov. for hóspítal)	hospital.
həxət	hogshead	oxhoft.
hərryø	hurry	eilen.
húmbuk	humbug	betrug, aufschneiderei.
indeed	indeed	in der that, wirklich.
Insch, Insching	Ingin (prov. for In- dian)	Indianer.
Inschingróbber	Ingin (Indian) rub- ber	gummi elasticum.
inseíd	inside	inwendig, innerhalb.
kəletsch	college	eine art hochschule.
kərnisch	cornice	dach-gesims, cf. karniëss.
kaérpət	carpet	teppich.
kaesch	cash	bares geld.
+ kətsch	catch (puzzle)	kunststück.
+ kətschar	catcher (pall)	leichtentuch.
kikø	kick	treten, ausschlagen.
+ kløse	close	schliessen.
kom (or kum-)	compound (with)	sich abfinden (mit).
prúnda		
+ komplīt	complete	vollständig, vollendet.
konfəss	confess	gestehen.
konsídərø	consider	erwägen, überlegen.
kórts	courts	gerichtshöfe.
krenər	coroner	leichenbeschauer.
krəp	crop	ernte.
kraəks	cracks	spalten, risse.
krəpər	crier	ausrufer.

P. E.  
kréditars  
krik  
kriks  
kwēt  
kwiltə

N. E.  
creditors  
creek  
crickets  
vulg. for quoit  
quilt

N. H. G.  
gläubiger.  
bach, kleine bucht.  
grillen. ?  
wurfscheibe.  
durchnähen.

lédsch (laétsch)  
\* leíə ?  
léssən  
lékschənīrə  
leithers  
líkrisch  
líschdə  
littəlħeus  
lóflettər  
lökus  
lōnsəm  
lūpə

latch  
lie  
lesson  
electioneer  
lighthorse  
licorice  
enlist  
little (back) house  
love-letter  
locust  
lonesome  
loop

klinke.  
liegen.  
aufgabe.  
stimmen werben.  
reiterei.  
süssholz, lakritzensaft.  
sich anwerben lassen.  
abtritt.  
liebesbrief.  
heuschrecke.  
einsam.  
mit einer schleife befestigen.

maénedzhə  
mēbəl (mēpəl)  
meind  
meində  
míssəri elend  
míteút milien or  
mixə unne  
módəl  
múschkītar  
múschkret  
múschmilyons

manage  
maple  
mind (and mine)  
mind  
misery  
without  
mix  
model  
vulg. for mosquito  
muskrat  
mushmilions (vulg.  
for muskmelons)

handhaben.  
ahorn. ?  
sinn (auch grube oder bergwerk).  
hören auf, acht geben, gehorchen. *hiete*  
elend.  
ohne dass, wenn nicht.  
mischen.  
muster.  
muskito.  
bisamratte.  
muskatmelone. ?

neu  
nōschən  
nōschens  
nōtis

now  
notion  
notions  
notice

nun, jetzt.  
idee, meinung.  
kurze-waren.  
notiz, nachricht.

péddəl (paeddəl)  
paéddlə (verb)  
pik  
pikə  
píktər  
píssəbed

paddle  
"  
subs. pick (choice),  
vb. choose  
vulg. for picture  
pissabed (vulg. for  
dandelion)

ruder.  
rudern.  
wahl.  
auswählen.  
bild.  
löwenzahn.

plénti  
plīsə  
plēn

plenty  
please  
plain

genug.  
gefallen.  
einfach.

is not a. English loan-word but is found in many S. G. dialects.  
1.4.9. as (17) p + liquid dent

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
póscht-æffis	postoffice	postamt.
pōkich	poky	langsam.
pōl	pole	stauge.
praénks	pranks	possen.
présent (brésent)	prison	gefängniss.
príténd	pretend	vorgeben.
púnk	punk	schwamm.
regūn	raccoon	waschbär.
rēsum	vulg. for rosin	harz.
raeps	raps	schläge.
raesch	rash	vorschnell.
reforí	referee	schiedsgericht.
reforímenn	— man	schiedsrichter.
rēsēd (H) or rēsīt (R)	receipt	quittung.
rōschdā	roast	braten.
rūl (rulər)	rule (ruler)	lineal.
rūmādis	vulg. for rheuma- tism	rheumatismus.
schēp	shop	werkstatt, laden.
schbaérægres	vulg. for asparagus	spargel.
schbeit	spite	groll.
schblíttā	split	spalten.
schbrēuts	sprouts	sprossen.
schbrī	spre	rausch (he has been on a—er ist wieder 'mal durchgegangen).
schbring	spring	quelle, brunnen.
schbunk	spunk	zunder, muth, entzündbares
schdēt	state	staat. [gemüth.
schdīm	steam	dampf.
* schdóppər	stopper	(kork)stöpsel.
schdrippə	strip	abstreifen.
schdúdent	student	student (note accent).
schdúdiə (& schdu- diə)	study	studiren.
schēfər	shaver	wucherer.
schīpisch	sheepish	schüchtern, verdächtig scheu.
schkíppə	skip	überspringen, auch hüpfen.
schkīds (cf. schkīdə, verb)	vulg. for skates	schlittschuhe.
schkwaérł	squirrel	eichhörnchen.
schkwéiar	squire	friedensrichter.
schlē (or schlíttā)	sleigh	schlitten.
schlēd	slate	schiefer.
schlík	slick	glatt.
schlō	slow	langsam.
schmaert	smart	geschickt, klug.

\* Stg.

\* Stg. = 2. Ex. must be in

Hilf.

\* Stg. = 1. Ex. would be

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
schmók	smoke	rauch.
schmókə	smoke (vb.)	rauchen.
schnéppər(schnaep- pər)	snapper (turtle)	eine schildkröte.
schnók	snug	bequem, enge.
schpeíə	spy	erspähen, entdecken.
schpéndə	spend	verausgaben, ausgeben.
schtaéndə	stand	ertragen, erdulden.
schtaértə	start	abgehen, abfahren, in bewegung setzen.
schūr	sure	sicher, gewiss.
sēfə	save	retten, sparen.
seidər (cf. seidər- press)	cider	apfelwein.
sémmlí	vulg. for assembly	versammlung.
sént	cent	ein geldstück.
séssər	vulg. for assessor	steuerbeamter, siehe accessər.
séssment	“ assessment	steuerumlage, einschätzung.
sét	set	bande, rotte.
seífərə	cipher	rechnen.
seínə	sign	unterzeichnen.
símədéri	cemetery	kirchhof.
síti	city	stadt.
sóldzhər	soldier	soldat
sómmənsə	summons	vorladen.
súklə	suckle	säugen.
súpərinténdər	vulg. for superin- tendent	oberaufseher.
sūt	suit	rechtshandel, prozess.
sūtə	suit	passen, gefallen.
təp (dəp)	top	gipfel, spitze.
taéfərnə	taverns	wirtshäuser.
taégə	tag	{ ein spiel in dem der gewinnt, der einen andern berührt, oder ihm einen schlag gibt.
tölbəx	toll-box	kasten für das chausseegeld.
tölhəus	toll-house	zollhaus.
törnpeík	turnpike	chaussee.
traévələrs	travelers	reisende.
tríks	tricks	possen, streiche.
tzháéps (dzhaeps)	chaps	kerls.
tzhēsə (dzhēsə)	chase	jagen, verfolgen.
ufkōrs (ofkōrs)	of course	natürlich.
umbrəl	vulg. for umbrella	regenschirm.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
wetschə (cf. wetsch, s.)	watch (as subs. = Uhr)	bewachen.
werk-heús	workhouse	arbeitshaus, zuchthaus.
waélli	valley	thal.
wérri (or very)	very	eben, (der)nämliche.
wíb (wíp)	whip	peitsche. <i>Geißel</i>
wíberwíll	whippowil	der virginische ziegenmelker oder windfänger.
wíg (wik)	Whig (Republican)	Whig.
wildærnis	wilderness	wildniss.
zæpling	sapling	bäumchen.

*German Prefix and English Root.*

ëbschtaértə	start off	abgehen, abfahren.
ëbseína	sign away	überschreiben an.
ëbwaérə (p. p. ëbgə-wérə)	wear off (out)	abtragen.
æ~fídə	fit (try on)	anpassen.
æ~schplítə	split a little	anspalten.
æ~séttlə	settle	ansiedeln.
æuspíkə	pick out (shell)	ausschälen.
æúschpéə	spy out	ausspähen.
æústeíərə	tire out	ermüden.
ei~fénsə (einfensə)	fence in	einzäunen.
fərbədərə	bother	plagen, verwirren.
færmíxə	mix	vermischen.
færschmökə	blacken by smoke	verrauchen.
færschwéppə	swap	austauschen.
reúslaénsə	lance out	herauseilen od. springen.
ūfpeflə	pile up	aufhäufen, aufschichten.
ūfkótə	cut up	unsinn, possen treiben.
ūfköksə	coax up	durch liebkosungen bereden.

*German Root + English Root.*

æltfaéschen	old-fashion	altmodisch.
belgēm	ball-game	ballspiel.
dīrəschō, also kri-dúrschō (R)	menagerie	menagerie.
eisə meínd	iron mine	eisengrube.
eisəschdör (H)	hardware store	eisenwaarenladen.
hændbörd	hand-board	wegweiser.
húnichsúkəl	honeysuckle	geissblatt.
kīpén	cow-pen	kuhstall.
kləpbörd-féns	clap-board fence	lattenzaun. .
lēgərfér (or -faer)	camp-meeting	gottesdienst im freien.

P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
selsbex	salt-box	salzfass.
schdikælfens	stake-fence	eine aus pfählen od. stangen aufgerichtete umzäunung.
schépböl	dipper	schöpfer.
schússbörd	tailboard	schussbrett am wagen.
tēbex	tea-box	theekasten.
úfrör	uproar	aufruhr, lärm.
wélschkornkríp	corn-crib	welschkornscheune.
wéschblok	washing-block(stool)	waschbank (-block).

*English Root + German Root or Suffix.*

beíndzebbø	pine-cone.	tannenzapfen.
bódælchø	small bottle	fläschchen.
bördkaerch	church-gallery	empor-kirche.
bútschærex	cleaver	schlächterbeil.
fénsrigæl	fence-rail.	stake, staket.
gínihínkæl	guinea (chicken)	perlhuhn.
híkærniss	hickory-nuts	weisse amerikanische wallnüsse.
klingschtē~	clingstone (peach)	pflirsche, deren kern sich schwer vom fleische ablöst.
kríkli	little creek	bächlein.
løbebír	law-paper	papier für dokumente.
lømæssich	according to law	gesetzmässig.
lédzhærbúch	ledger	hauptbuch.
maéntælbörd, maén- tælstik	mantelboard (-piece)	kaminsims.
maérbælschtē~	marble	marmor.
mēbleis	tick-seed	wirtelsstrefpen.
schdimmil	steam-mill	dampfmühle.
schlëddékær	slater	schieferdecker.
schmökduwæk	smoking tobacco	rauchtabak.
schmökpeif	(smoking) pipe	tabakspfeife.
schmökdeg (or -wé- der), also eltweí- værsúmmær	} Indian summer	nachsommer.
wætschkett		uhrkette.
wfblein (better wiblí)	little whip	peitschen.

*English Idea expressed in German.*

egadóokter.	eye-doctor	augenarzt.
bækschtē~lëgær	bricklayer.	maurer.
bísskæts	piss-cat (skunk)	stinkthier.
bísskætsægæút	skunk-cabbage.	stinkkohl.
løbaeryærtē	golden rod (Blue mountain tea)	bergthee, goldruthe, wundkraut.
gæwíttærrūt	lightning-rod	blitzableiter.



P. G.	N. E.	N. H. G.
gútgúkich (cf. schléchtgúkich)	good-looking	hübsch, schön.
hēm̃gēm̃echt	home-made	selbst gemacht.
húnnærtjör	hundred years (cen- tury)	jahrhundert.
zē~dóktor	dentist	zahnarzt.

*Bahn.*

*For* wēs ich dō fəlōrə hēb,  
Ich dort *exspect* to [zu] sē.—P. 196.

For what I have lost here, I *expect* to see there.

*For* ellə mōl ich's hērə dū,  
Dūt's mich *enkēradzhə* mē.—P. 199.

For every time I hear it, it *encourages* me the more.

Un *gəfixt* hot er in juscht *fērstrēt*.—P. 193.

And he *fixed* it just *first-rate*.

Sin noch fil mē ich *gleichə* du.—P. 200.

There are still many more [which] I *like*.

*In faekt* ich wēss's juscht sō gūt,  
Dass wenn's geschtər *gəhaeppənt* waer.—P. 192.

*In fact* I knew it just as well as if it had *happened* yesterday.

Unn sell *konfess* ich ē~.—P. 198.

And that I *confess* too.

Ich hoff aer mēk(g) noch *laestə* leng.—P. 187.

I hope it may *last* yet a long time.

Unn mit dem schtēub sich *mixə* dūt.—P. 184.

And with the dust it is mingled [*mixed*].

For jēdars waer em *pikə* denn.—P. 190.

For every one would then be *picking* [it up].

*Well, ennikou*, wenn's frījōr kummt,  
Bin ich *gəplīst fērstrēt*.—P. 180.

Well, *anyhow*, when spring comes, I am *pleased first-rate* [very glad].

Aer hot's net kennə *staendə* mē.—P. 190.

He could not *stand* it any longer.

Dō kummt ən schlittə unn aer *schtōppt*.—P. 186.

Here comes a sleigh and it *stops* [is stopping].

Wā dī *kleimet sūt* dūt,

Dō singə sī mit frischəm mūt.—P. 183.

Where the *climate suits* [is favorable] they sing with fresh vigor.

*Fischer.*

Ich glēb mār kennt's *aeppirə* mēchə.—A. M. 71.

I think we could make it *appear*.

Dī hex, dī hot ən *lwyer gəfit*,

Der bescht sei ~ lēvə hot *gəplit*—A. M. 65.

The witch, she *feed* a *lawyer*, who *pleaded* his very best [the best in his life].

Dī hex, dī hot dī *lpsūt* gəwunnə.—A. M. 65.

The witch, she won the *lawsuit*.

Ǝn jēdər *məint* sei ~ *bissness* dō.—K. 112.

Every one *minds* his *business* here.

Denn *for* sī zu *plisə*,

Isch's kurtsum bəschlossə.—K. 16.

Then in order to [*for to*] *please* them it is forthwith decided.

Kenn's elləs *prüfə bei* meim bū.—K. 83.

I can *prove* it all *by* my boy.

I. D. Rupp hot mit grossər mī unn euslēg dreissich deusət nemə fon unserə brefə deitschə ei~gəwendertə förfētər gəsemmelt unn *gəpublischt*.—K. 3.

I. D. Rupp collected with great difficulty and outlay [expense] thirty thousand names of our *brave* [noble] German forefathers and *published* them.

Dī eltə wēg sinn əll fərduzt,

Der *schtīm* hot elləs *revoluzt*.—A. Z. 172.

The old ways are all confused [changed], *steam* has *revolutionized* everything.

Ǝs waert əlləs *gərunt bei schtīm*,

Ǝs waert bəl nix gəschefft əs *bei maeschīm*,

Der mensch, der *runt* sich ẽ ~ *bei schtīm*.—A. Z. 171.

Everything is *run by steam*, soon nothing will be done except *by machine*, man too will *run* himself [go] *by steam*.

Denn *schmök* ich unn blös der *schmök* in die hē.—K. 62.

Then I *smoke* and blow [puff] the *smoke* up into the air.

Unn di wu als hen treivə solle,  
Sinn hēm *gəschnīkt*, noch mē sek zu hōlə.—A. Z. 117.

And those who should have driven *sneaked* home to fetch more sacks.

Ʒs waert nix mē gēmēd neu mit der sens,  
Ʒs juscht ē~ gēmōd sō en der *fens*,  
Der *rīpər* drin zu *schaertə*.—A. Z. 139.

We now cut no more with the scythe than just one swath along the *fence*, in which to *start* the *reaper*.

Unn wenn mər's feiər hen *ūfgəschtērt*  
Denn sinn ən dēusənt funkə fērt.—A. Z. 206.

And when we *stirred up* the fire, a thousand sparks flew out.

Aer *schtekt* so *tight* es wēx.—A. Z. 108.

He *sticks* as *tight* as wax. Here, then, is an evident adaptation of the German *stecken* (*schtekə*) to the English idiom.

Mər *traevəlt* neu bei lēnd unn sē,  
Bei *lokomotiv tim*.—A. Z. 172.

We *travel now* by land and sea by *locomotive team*.

Sō gēt mər jērlich en der *Pōl*,  
Unn *vōl's* elt *Dzhaeksən-tikət*.—K. 113.

So we go to the *polls* every year and *vote* the old *Jackson ticket*.

#### *Hörbūch.*

Sell hot sī dīf *aeffekt*.—H. 72.

This *affected* them deeply (made a deep impression upon them).

Der mēschtər hen mər neusgəschpaerrt,  
Dī dir unn fenschtər fescht *gəbaerrt*.—H. 18.

We shut the master out, we *barred* the door and windows fast.

Der waert hot sī *gəbēlt*.—H. 72.

The tavern-keeper *bailed* them out.

Dō is neu's schreivəs, ell *komplīt*,  
*Gəmixt* mit *lȳ*, dəs elləs *bīt*,  
Ʒs hot kē *flȳ* unn *flek*.—H. 73.

Here is the document, all *complete*, *mixed* with law that *beats* [surpasses] everything; it has not a *flaw*, nor [spot] blot.

Wī is des jungə būrəfolk doch *ufgādresset*,  
Wī hēvə si dī kepp sō schteif unn hoch !—H. 21.

How the young peasant folk are *dressed up*, how stiffly and proudly they hold their heads !

Dī būrə hen gāsē~ wī gūt  
Es gēt wenn mər sei~ *bissness* dūt  
*Aekkvrding zu der lə* !—H. 75.

The peasants saw how well it goes when one *does his business according to the law*.

Der *schkweiər* hot der gēnz pək gāfeint.—H. 72.

The *squire fined* the whole crowd [gang].

Kənnscht denkə wī ich *fil*.—H. 15.

You can imagine how I *feel*. Here the German reflexive has given place to the English intransitive construction ; cf. X 3, 314, 4.

Mər lēbt juscht wī dər vōr : des *fixt* dī *lə*.—H. 22.

One lives just as before, that the *law fixes*.

Dēl buschleit hen kēn luscht dehēm,  
Sī *haenkərə* nōch der schtēdt.—H. 51.

Some country people find no pleasure at home, they *hanker* after the city.

Sell hēbt sī schē~ fum wēgəbett herēus,  
Unn *heist* sī haendich in dī ovərə schtek.—H. 46.

This lifts them up out of the wagon[bed] nicely, and *hoists* them handily into the upper stories.

Ir schreivəs hēməlt unser ēm—  
Ich lēs's gern—es *kummt mir hēm*.—H. 25.

Their writing [poetry] reminds us of home ; I like to read it, it *comes home to me*.

Mər hett gāklōst unn dēt *kompundə* mit de kreditərs.—H. 22.

(That) we have *closed* and will *compound* (settle) with the creditors (indirect question).

Sēgt Hēns : " Ich *kraek* dī nuss."—H. 74.

Says Jack : " I'll *crack* the nut " (I'll settle the question).

Nēu hot der mēschtər rēus gəlaenst,  
Gər kreislich *schīpisch gukt*.—H. 18.

Now the [school]master *lanced* [rushed] out, *looking* very *sheepish*.

Dī jungə *leiə* ellweil schtill,  
Unn schlōfə ellə fesch. —H. 15.

The young ones now *lie* still, and all sleep soundly.

Dort hengt ən schtrik, den *lūpt* mər ən dī sek. —H. 42.

There hangs a rope, this we *loop* to the sacks.

Mər *əgent* nix—dī fra *hot's in hōnd*—

Mər is ir *ədzhent*, *maenedzht* geld unn lənd. —H. 22.

One [the husband] owns nothing—the wife has it all *in hand*—

One [he] is her *agent*, *manages* money and land.

Guk, wī sī *pīpə* rum. —H. 15.

Look, how they *peep* around.

Der mond is uf—er is juscht foll—

Ḥr *pīpt* zum fenschtr̃ rei~ —Guk mol! —H. 33.

The moon is up—it is just full, it *peeps* in through the window—  
just look!

Unn *ufgəpeilt* uf ēnər seit. —H. 26.

And *piled up* on one side.

Dəs hot der Həns *əbʊt gəpl̩st*,

Wī mər sich's denkə kənn. —H. 72.

This *pleased* Hans *about* as one might imagine to himself.

Ḥn jədər bəurəbū muss *kaerridzh reidə*. —H. 21.

Every peasant-[farmer-]boy must *ride* in a *carriage*.

Wenn's *seinscht*, denn kənnscht du rei~! —H. 18.

If you *sign* it you may come in.

Dī schwelmə *schkipppə* ivər's feld. —H. 14.

The swallows *skip* [fly low] over the field.

*Schtopt* əm həus unn schluppt gəns secht

Mit seim sək əm schornschtr̃ nei~. —H. 40.

[He] *stops* at the house and slips right softly down the chimney  
with his sack.

Unn elləs wəs sī hen, dī leit,

Dēt ich *fərschwəppə enich zeit*

For's schülhəus ən der krik. —H. 13.

And all they have, these people, I would *swap any time* for the  
schoolhouse on the creek.

Sell is ən ərch gut ding—əs *sēft* fīl mī. —H. 46.

That is a very good thing—it *saves* much labor.

Dū finnscht kēn mēschtər sō, gē, such—  
 Der *seifərə* kēnn dərch's gēnsə buch,  
 Unn *schkippt* kēn ēni *rül*.—H. 17.

You will not find a teacher—go, hunt [him]—who can *cipher* through the whole book and *skips* [without skipping] not a single *rule*.

Dī grossə hen dī grossə *gətaegt*,  
 Dī klēnə ɐll fərmissst.—H. 18.

The large [boys] *tagged* the large [girls], [but] missed [passed by] all the little ones.

Der mēschtər *wətscht* sī ɐwər schərf.—H. 16.

But the master watches them closely [sharply].

*Gəwipt* hot aer nummə zu.—H. 17.

He *whipped* continually.

### *Horne.*

Kutsteun *leit* im drek.—P. 53.

Kutztown *lies* [is situated] in the dirt.

Aer is ən ɐrch freindlichər unn *schmaertər* mēnn unn *meint* sei-  
*business* gut.—P. 48.

He is a very friendly and *smart* man and *minds* his [own] *business* well.

There seems to be English influence in the following : *Es* is ə~  
 zū sellər zeit imə brif ɐus Filedelfə grossə gl̥ɔg beim govərnər  
 gəfirt worrə, dɛss dī filə deitschə ivərɐll's bescht lənd *əfnemə* dētə  
 unn gəfərlich waerrə.—P. 55.

It was also at that time that a grave complaint was made to the governor in a letter from Philadelphia, that the numerous Germans were *taking up* the best land everywhere and becoming dangerous.

Weil der ɐlt mēnn ɐrm wər, hot der jung *tzhaep* ken laerning krigt, ɛs wəs er so ɐus sich selvərt [selvər] *ufgəpikt* hot.—P. 72.

As the old man was poor, the young *chap* got no education except what he *picked up* himself [by his own exertions].

Aer hot mit fil widərwaertichkeitə zu fechtə ghət, ɐvər ər hot's *gəschaent* wī ən mēnn.—P. 74.

He had many misfortunes to contend with, but *stood* them like a man.

Weil ər zu seinərə muttərschpröchl *gəschtikt* hot, ɐvə wī'r in d' hēkschtə emtər wər.—P. 74.

Because he *stuck* to his mother-tongue even when he was in the highest offices.

Juscht sei~ föreltərə hettə 'n pər hunnərt jōr in Englənd  
*gəschd(t)oppt*.—P. 48.

Only [except that] his forefathers had *stopped* a few hundred years in England.

Fōr eltərs—dēs mēnt bei uns ivər hunnərt jōr—wī unsər forel-  
 tərə ins lənd kummə sin, unn's eschtlich Pennsyllfēni v~ *gəsettəlt*  
 hen, wər's noch ən ər mē schlechtə gēyent, foll Inschə, schləngə unn  
 fil ənnər ungəzifər.

Long ago—that means with us over a hundred years—when  
 our forefathers came into the country and *settled* eastern Pennsy-  
 lvania, it was still a poor, wretched region, full of Indians, snakes,  
 and many other vermin.

Aerscht kaerzlich hot uns ən freind gəsət, dēss ər noch gūt  
 wisst, wī der Dzhen noch drunnə in Norristēun *bvər gətent* unn dī  
 sēm zeit *lɔ gələsə* hett (Gehring).—P. 75.

Only a short time ago a friend told us that he still knew [remem-  
 bered] well how [when] John *attended bar* down there in Norris-  
 town and at the *same* time *read law*.

Sī sinn mit *schdīm āfgəwaermt* im wintər.—P. 49.

They are *warmed up* by *steam* in winter.

English influence seems to be traceable in the following: Aer  
 hot sō hōch ɛs 8 bis 10 gəmənə *fil zeitə* ghɛt.—P. 78.

He had as high as 8 or 10 congregations *many times*.

### Rauch.

Unn ich fərmūt, ɛs dū selvər *aedminischtrə* wid?—P. 205.

And I suppose you yourself want to *administer*?

Unn wenn dū *dūscht*, dēnn waert aer ɛ~ follens *aeग्रिə* mit mīr.  
 —P. 196.

And if you *do*, he will fully *agree* with me.

Will ich ebbəs sunscht provīrə—der *raeskəl aektə*.—P. 219.

I will try something else—to *act the rascal*.

Unn dūt de gəns *trēn* sellerwäg *baelaensə*.—P. 228.

And in this way *balances* the whole *train*.

*Juscht zu sēnə*, wī gut aer dich *bekummt*, *suppōs* du provīrscht  
 ən emōl ɛ~.—P. 191.

*Just to see* how well it will *become* you, *suppose* you try it on.

Unn es dūt der *flōr* ɛ~ *protektə*, *for* hols ɛs gūt *ei~ gəsōkt* is mit  
*tzhɔ-duvekbrī* dūt net fərfeulə.—P. 232.

And it also *protects* the *floor*, for wood which is well *soaked*  
 with *chewing* tobacco juice does not rot.

In der kaerich is ən *fērstrētər* plets for ēmə sei~ *tzhə* duvək  
gūt *endzhvie*.—P. 232.

[In] church is a *first-rate* place for one to *enjoy* thoroughly his  
*chew* (vulg. "*chaw*") of tobacco.

Unn wənn sell *fēlt* zu schēffə dənn nem di *bōks*.—P. 194.

And if that *fails* to operate, then take the *box*.

Dō is ən schtik, ɐs *gəfiggərt* is.—P. 198.

Here is a piece that is figured [with figures].

net hēlvər gəfinischt

Lēm unn schīp, so wischt unn ɐus der faeschən.—P. 219.

"scarce half made up,

And that so lamely and unfashionable."

Ich inschūr's, ɐs si de *veri* beschte sinn.—P. 202.

I'll insure them to be the *very* best.

Kēperə mer dō rum mit de *lēdis*.—P. 219.

"He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber."

Əm Jones sei~ unfēlbərə kreitərmittəl *positivli kjuert* ellə mensch-  
lichə *komplēnts* fom blōhuschtə ɐ~ bis nunnər zu *schquaer* zɐ~ wē.—  
P. 193.

Jones' unfailing herb remedy *positively cures* every *complaint*,  
from whooping-cough down to *square* tooth-ache.

Dərum is sei~ *dədi* nēus unn hot ən *gəkōkst*.—P. 224.

"Therefore came his father [daddy] out and entreated him."

Sell mæg sei~, ɐvər ich *gēnei~ for plēn* prēdichə.—P. 183.

That may be so, but I *go in for plain* [square] preaching.

Der doktər hot di pilfərlin *pripaert*, unn *gəordert* ēns ei~ zugēvə  
ellə zwē shtund.—P. 197.

The doctor *prepared* the powders, and *ordered* one to be given  
every two hours.

*Piti* mich net, ɐvər geb mir nēu *dei~* ōrə.—P. 220.

"Pity me not, but lend me thy serious hearing."

Sei so gūt unn mēch ən *bill* derfo~ unn dū si *visitə*.—P. 201.

Please make me a *bill* and *receipt* it.

*Plaens* hob ich *gəlegt* for ən ufrōr *rēsə*.

"Plots I have laid . . .

To set my brother Clarence and the king

In deadly hate the one against the other."

ɐvər ich bin net *gəschēpt* for so *schports* unn *triks*.—P. 219.

"But I that am not shaped for sportive tricks."

Oh, ich will net *schle~ uf ə* faertel.—P. 189.

Oh, I won't *stand on* a quarter.



Unn mit elli meina sinda *nousgäschteppt* in di ennär welt.—P. 222.  
And with all my sins stepped into the other world (free translation of the original).

Sæg zwē unn dreisich—*schplit* der *differens*.—P. 200.

Say thirty-two, *split* the *difference*.

Der kostomær *settolt* uf un sægt *faeriwell*.—P. 193.

The customer *settles up* and bids *farewell*.

### *Causes and Laws underlying the Speech Mixture.*

It now remains to trace the causes and laws underlying this speech-mixture. One will notice, by glancing at the lists, that most of these borrowed words are either very familiar or very technical. Attention has already been called to the remarkably pure German vocabulary of certain isolated phases of the life of this people, as for example that of the peasant-women in the kitchen and the home. Here, then, is the nearest approach to the speech of the original German settler. If we begin in the isolated home and follow the course of the homespun German as it is brought by the children and other members of the family into contact with the life about them, we shall be able to discover both the *causes* and *laws* of the English infusion. Prominent among these *causes* are the following :

(1) *The unintelligibility of German to the English speaker.* On entering the land the German settler found a civilization the language of which was English. Most of the traffic had to be carried on with English-speaking tradesmen, who knew and wished to know little or no German. The natural result was that the German, in transacting business, was compelled to call objects, perfectly familiar to him in his own idiom in the fatherland, by their English names. The following are examples: *boddal* (N. H. G. flasche), *baergan* (N. H. G. handel), *bræds* (N. H. G. gewebe), *fendyu* (N. H. G. öffentliche versteigerung), *kaerpæt* (N. H. G. teppich), *schtör* (N. H. G. laden), *sut* (N. H. G. anzug), *sæfs* (N. H. G. eiserne geldkasten), *schlippars* (N. H. G. pantoffeln), *wardröbs* (N. H. G. kleiderschränke).

The newspapers abound also in curious compounds; cf. the following: *eisenstore*, *küchen rānges*, *extra grātes*, *furnāces*, *bar-room-oefen*, *air-tight* und alle sorten *parlor-oefen*, *brilliant gas burners*, *tragbare heaters* und *gasbrenner*, *feuerbricks*, *springs*, *geforged* und *gerolltes eisen*, *shäfting*, *safes*, *meisel in setts*, *razor strops* und *hones*, *pulleys*, *carvingmesser*, *butschermesser*, *varnisch*,

*varnisch = Malmers Kalken*

neues kohlscreen, boiler von allen sorten, brassarbeit, kaffee-mühlen (cf. Haldeman, pp. 30 ff. for this and similar selections).<sup>1</sup>

(2) *The insufficiency of the colloquial German vocabulary for the emergencies of the new environment.* The newly arrived German met many objects for the first time and learned to recognize them by their English names, which were much better known to him than the German equivalent. Among such the following may be mentioned: *fens* (N. H. G. zaun, mauer, umzäunung, gehäge, are all insufficient to express the various meanings of the American "fence"); *küttledzh-kaerpäts* (N. H. G. teppiche für hütten oder landhäuser would need explanation); *pvi* or *pei* (N. H. G. kuchen und pastete both somewhat different from the American, Yankee, "pie"); *bvss* in P. G. has the meaning of N. H. G. aufseher, fabrikherr, meister, with various other kindred significations; *kolletsch* is something quite peculiar to English and American life and has no equivalent in N. H. G., the German *gymnasium* would be misleading, and *hochschule* or *universität* would signify too much; *rvgün* or *rvkkün* would hardly be exchanged for the lumbering N. H. G. nordamerikanischer waschbär! Agricultural implements, as *ripär*, *schellär*, *kaerridzh* (Eng. carriage), *boggi* (buggy), *rvkävē* (rockaway).

(3) *The recognition of English as the only official speech.* The fact that since early in the eighteenth century English has been the only recognized official speech, even for Germans, has forced the P. German to make use of the technical vocabulary connected with municipal and state government. The result is that P. G. has received a large influx of these technical English words untranslated and for the most part unchanged in pronunciation. To be sure, the German pulpit, schools, and press in various parts of the state have kept the German equivalents of many of these terms before the people, but the P. G. dialect has chosen to adopt the English terms instead of the German. So we find scores of them: *vffis*, *aedoptä*, *aepppintä*, *aerreschtä* and *reschtä*, *endvrsä*, *enrölä*, *poschtvffis*, *schdēt* and *schtēt*. A glance at the list above will afford numerous examples. In order to show how English law terms have crept into the dialect I quote passages from Harbaugh's *Harfe* (pp. 70-71).

<sup>1</sup> It must be noted, however, that these selections given by Haldeman, while illustrating to some extent P. G. speech mixture, are taken from professedly N. H. G. newspapers.

Dī *lɔ* unn *kōrts* hen sī gāhesst, . .  
 Nord hot der en der ennər *gārescht*,  
 ʒs is fōr den *schkweiər* kummə;  
 Der Hens wer *gāsommənst*. . .  
 Uf sēmschdæg wer di *sūt* beschteilt, . .  
 Der *schkweiər* hot der gēns pack *gāfeint*, . .  
 Der waert hot sī *gābēlt*.

(4) *The loss of puristic speech-consciousness by the decline of the German pulpit and schools.* The English public schools are rapidly supplanting German institutions and thus decreasing the demand for German in the pulpit. The German press is still active in almost every town of considerable size, but that does little toward cultivating a puristic taste for the mother-tongue. The result is clear. The younger generation of Pennsylvania Germans, schooled in the dialect of the parental fireside, comparatively ignorant of the literary language, and taught in the English schools to forget their vernacular, speak the dialect, if at all, without distinguishing or knowing whether they speak a language or jargon. It is but fair, however, to state that there are not a few who can distinguish, when their attention is directed to their speech, and some are found who make conscious efforts to preserve the pure German vocabulary.

To this blunting of speech-feeling are due such borrowings as *plenti* (quite general for N. H. G. genug, also P. G. genunk), *town* (N. H. G. dorf, also P. G. schtedəl), *bisness* (N. H. G. geschäft, sache), *opinyən* (N. H. G. meinung, also P. G. mēning), *dzhudzhe* (N. H. G. urtheilen, beurtheilen), *traevelə* (N. H. G. reisen, also P. G. rēsə), *kostomərs* (N. H. G. kunden, also P. G. kunnə). Even more interesting than these single words are the unconscious Anglicisms which have crept into P. G. syntax: (1) modified signification of the German term *gleichə* (orig. = N. E. resemble, now = N. E. like, N. H. G. gern haben), *gukə* (orig. = N. E. look, N. H. G. sehen, now = also N. E. look (appear), N. H. G. aussehen), *filə* (orig. trans. and reflex., now trans. and intrans.) (aer fīlt schlecht = N. H. G. er fühlt sich unwohl); (2) the introduction of the English idiom, as Ich hēb mei~ *meind* *ūfgeməcht* (= N. H. G. Ich habe mich entschlossen), sī is *daun* *ūf* der elt Rip Van Winkel (N. H. G. sie ist böse auf den alten Rip V. W.) (Rip 11). Wenn avər der Rip dī *noschen* *nemt* *vus* *zu* *baekə* *inseid* *fon* *zweneich* *jōr* *unn* *ē* *dæg* (= N. E. If, however, Rip takes the notion to back out inside of a year, etc.) (Rip 17). Ich wēss

es aer der *aedvaentedzh gənūme* hot fum Rip (N. E. I know that he took *advantage* of Rip) (Rip 24). Dēs der Dzhō den Dzhən bei der Saelli *vusgəkot* het (N. E. That Joe had *cut out* John with Sally) (W. 48). Dō hen sī gəmerkt dēs sī *gəzfūlt* sinn (N. E. Now they noticed that they were *fooled*) (W. 134). For other examples see X 3, 295 et seq.

(5) *The inclination to despise the P. G. vernacular.* As English culture becomes more generally disseminated, the rising generation regard with contempt the speech of their fathers, and thus not only contribute to the growing speech-mixture, but bid fair in a few generations to erase the last vestiges of the sturdy German vernacular. The results of this cause are manifold. In some cases the strong vitiation of the German idiom with English words and expressions; in others, the speaking of broken English on the part of the parents when addressing their children and strangers; in still others, the utter abandonment of all reminiscences of the fatherland and complete absorption in English language and life. There is a touch of pathos in the fast vanishing traces of this once flourishing German civilization. It were a theme worthy of the poet's pen to sing the dirge of this dying race of sturdy Teutons, and perpetuate to coming generations vivid recollections of the honest simplicity, the patient sacrifice, the untiring energy, and indomitable heroism of their early ancestors.

#### *Laws.*

From the foregoing it is possible to summarize the general laws underlying the speech mixture:

1. *That term or idiom is employed which is the most familiar to both speaker and hearer. So doublets are frequent, German and English varying according to the speakers.*

2. *Where the object is new and distinctively English (American), the English term is likely to be retained. Not infrequently, however, a speech compromise is made in the form of a compound, as kīpen, ei~fensə.*

3. *Where the literary activity is not nurtured by the schools, the speech-consciousness is deadened and mixture becomes more indiscriminate.*

4. *Official, formal, and technical terms are rarely, almost never, translated (in this case from English into P. German).*

5. *That form of the word which in common use is borrowed in the form in which it is heard, i. e. if the vulgar pronunciation is the one in vogue, the vulgar form of the word is introduced, as bessəm (for opossum), reschtə (for arrestə), schkīds (for skates).*







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